THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1956-1957

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

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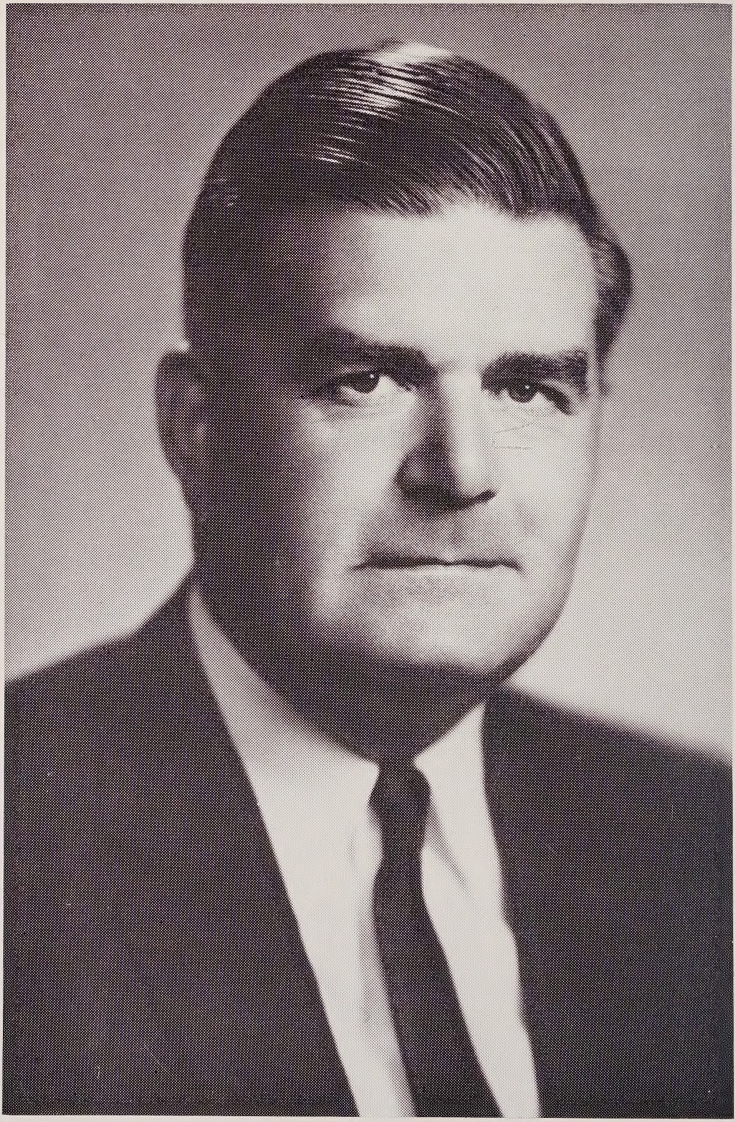

DONALD H. JUPP, O.B.E.

President of the Empire Club of Canada
1956-1957

THE EMPIRE CLUB
OF CANADA

Addresses 1956-1957

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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Fifty-fourth year of Issue

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EXCERPT FROM "ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB" PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR BOOK FOR 1903-1904

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut.-Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed . . . . . a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present . . . . after a discussion of various proposed names . . . . The Empire Club of Canada . . . . was approved by a large majority.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses contained in this volume are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME"

An Address by

JOHN NEVILLE
of
The Old Vic Theatre Company
London, England

Thursday, October 4th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: I have a most pleasant duty to perform before calling upon our speaker today, and that is to present a certificate to Immediate Past President, Dr. Cecil C. Goldring, commemorating his highly successful term of office in 1955-56. At this, our first meeting of a new season it is fitting that we should ask Dr. Goldring to take a bow for having presided over a most stimulating season while the 52nd holder of the office of President. Our thanks go to him for an excellent job done.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are particularly fortunate in having a speaker from Britain for our opening meeting and as it would be unthinkable to have Romeo without Juliet, we are also fortunate in having the ladies.

John Neville was not fifteen years old when war broke out. Soon he found himself in the Royal Navy. On release he entered the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and began his professional appearances in the Open Air Theatre in Regent's Park, in Bergen and Oslo with a touring company, at Lowestoft and Birmingham with the Bristol Old Vic, and finally in the 1953-54 season he joined the Old Vic Company.

Those who have seen him at the Royal Alexandra in the roles of Romeo and Macduff and who hope to see him next week in the title role in "Richard II", will be interested in some of the other Shakespearian roles he has played: Marc Anthony, both Othello and Iago, Troilus, Hotspur, Pistol, Orlando, Fortinbras. He went with the Company to Elsinore in June 1954 when "Hamlet" was played in the courtyard of Kronborg Castle.

Today Mr. Neville steps out of the limelight to speak about the great theatrical institution which goes by the cozy cockney name of the Old Vic, and about his life in the theatre. Perhaps he will tell us the answer to the question, usually just rhetorical, "Wherefore art thou Romeo?"

Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. John Neville.

MR. JOHN NEVILLE: I am merely a player. That is all—just an actor. Consequently, I am totally unqualified to speak to you on any subject whatever. You can imagine, therefore, my consternation when you very kindly asked me here to speak today and when later, a good bit later, I was shown the list of very distinguished and brilliant people who had preceded me—this list, I may say, was very cleverly concealed from me until this moment—consternation gave way to alarm and terror.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very, very flattered and honoured indeed. In a phrase I must have picked up since I have been in Canada, "You asked for it." I hope you will bear with me.

May I say first a word on behalf of the whole company, all of us who are here, and are privileged to play before you. It is very difficult for us to describe how excited and thrilled we are to be in Canada. I hope you won't think us impolite if we say that your wonderful and lovely country constantly surprises us. We had expected the grandeur and the beauty, and we were not surprised at the immense kindness and hospitality that we have met in immeasurable quality since we have been here. We expected that because you are renowned for it. What surprises us, I think because we are ignorant, is the incredible, the immense progress that you have been making and are still making in all walks of life—in agriculture, in industry, I think particularly in building we have noticed the speed with which you build, the quality of the design. That has excited us very much. And also in culture and in this interest, I think particularly of the drama, which we know perhaps more about. It is the only subject I know anything about at all, really.

I think one of the things we have been asked most since we have been here is what are your impressions of the Canadian theatre?

Well, unfortunately, we have not had the opportunity to see performances because we are working at the same time Canadian actors are working, but we enquired because we wanted to find out. We want to know what is going on.

I think it would be true to say that the professional theatre in this country, as it is now constituted, in its very alive, vital state, is probably now only about five years old, and yet it is terribly strong and vital.

Now, may I say this, that this will only remain so and progress and get stronger and more vital if you encourage it. It is your theatre. You must support it.

When I say "support it", I don't mean just going to it. I mean helping it, nurturing it, cherishing it, because it is yours—and criticizing it. Don't let them get smug.

Recently a very important event took place in Canadian theatre history. A company, representing Canada, went with productions of Henry the Eighth, and Oedipus Rex to the now world famous International Festival at Edinburgh. This is a very important landmark, I am sure you will agree, a very important thing to have happened. They were sent to perform by the side of the best in the world of drama, art, opera and music.

Now, we were fortunate enough in Montreal the other day to meet some of those people when they returned, particularly the French-speaking part of the company, and we were very sad to find that their general impressions of their trip were, to say the least of it, not very favourable, and because we know Edinburgh, we know just exactly what sort of things they had to contend with.

They arrived in Edinburgh and they had difficulty in finding lodgings. The lodgings were damp, the prices they had to pay for the lodgings were exorbitantly high. They found their costumes were damp because they had been packed damp here—one of the unfortunate things that sometimes happens. They found the stage they had to perform on wasn't as good as the one they were used to performing on at home. We know about that because we performed at Edinburgh under the same conditions.

On top of all this, the notices they received in the press, I believe were not entirely or uniformly favourable, so they were feeling a little depressed about all this.

But the most important thing about this is not that fact, not any of those facts, the important thing is that they went, and they must go again and again and again and again, and they must also go to London, because this sort of tour is very important.

It would be a very good idea, I think, if Stratford, Ontario, or the Old Vic went and performed in the open air by the Pyramids in Egypt, in front of President Nasser. It couldn't do any less harm. Nothing but good can come of these exchanges and visits.

I am reminded in saying that, however, of a story which is quite untrue, so I hope it won't be taken down, and I don't suppose I ought to tell you this. It concerns a very eminent Canadian. I heard it the other day and as the story is quite untrue—this man is a very eminent politician and journalist—as it is untrue, let us, for argument's sake, call him Beverly Baxter.

This is a story about an extensive lecture tour he was making, and at the beginning of it he had to perform a function at a garden party, or one of those things where a lot of babies are about, and he was introduced by the local Mayor or dignitary to some parents. There was a little tiny baby named after him—his name was Beverly Baxter—Jones, or Smith, or whatever it was.

The Mayor got tremendously excited. This is marvellous, this is wonderful, thrilling! This is the most wonderful thing. There is no knowing how many little Beverly Baxters will result from your tour.

Well, we know what he meant, I think.

It is important that you, the audience, encourage the theatre. It cannot live without *you.* It cannot live at all. There would be no theatre without *you.*

I hope you support Stratford, Ontario . . . I am sure you do . . . because one knows the attendances there over the years performed so far, although I believe slightly decreased, they have never been below ninety per cent capacity, and that is a very great compliment.

We are asked, as I say, about what our impressions are of the Canadian theatre, and we have been making enquiries and trying to find out. We have found that there is an important theatre here in Toronto, your own theatre, the Crest Theatre. This seems to me to be a very valuable opportunity to make it your very own theatre, your town, your city theatre. I hope you support that, too. Do you? I wonder? You ought to. That is a most admirable enterprise, I think. We have met the people who are concerned and they do a very great job of hard work.

I can see some of you saying, Well, we don't think their policy is quite right. We think they do too many of this sort of play, or that sort of play. Don't tell me, tell them. That is what I mean by supporting the theatre.

We know a little bit about this because theatres like the Old Vic are only as strong and alive as they are because of the enthusiasm of a great many people, and in no small part because of the enthusiasm of the audience.

This theatre is a little older than yours and has been growing a great number of years, and has been through many vicissitudes and hardships and struggles.

It is a building that we who work in it love very much indeed. The building itself was opened in 1818. It was then called the Royal Cobourg Theatre. Soon after it was changed to the Royal Victoria Theatre, and gradually went down and down and descended into being a very, very low type of musicale. It lost its reputation and people sat in the audiences at the tables drinking beer and watching whatever act was on at the time.

In 1879 a social worker named Emma Cons took over the theatre. She rescued it and made it into a temperance building and renamed it The Royal Victoria Coffee Music Hall.

These names were gradually lost in the area and in the area it was known affectionately as the "Old Vic", by which it is still known. The theatre is still the Royal Victoria Theatre.

The important thing that happened was that Miss Con's niece, a remarkable woman by the name of Lilian Baylis, joined her as Manager, and eventually, in about 1912, Miss Baylis found herself in sole charge of the theatre on the death of her aunt.

She decided she would put into operation a policy of presentations to the people who lived near the theatre, which was predominantly a working-class audience, in a very poor part of Londonside, on the north bank, away from the commercial theatre in the west end of London. She was going to present the policy of opera and Shakespeare at prices the people could afford. Basically, the policy has never really changed. That is what we try to do, although the Opera is now housed with Ballet in a building in the north of London, it has still the policy of presenting legitimate theatre to people at prices they can afford.

They started in 1912 with a Director, Sir Philip Ben Greet, and the first leading lady was Dame Sybil Thorndyke. Then the war came and everybody said it would have to be closed, but it didn't. They kept on. It didn't close at all and it has never closed since.

In 1940 the theatre was bombed and they had to move out of London to Lancashire for a time, and in 1944 the theatre returned to London, but it returned to London in the heart of the west end, and to the new theatre.

There are several ways of looking at this period. This period lasted about six years until about 1950. Undoubtedly, this was one of the recent periods of greatness in the history of the Old Vic. It was directed by Sir Laurence Olivier and Sir Ralph Richardson, and the complexion of the policy of the theatre changed very slightly in that it was situated in the west end, in the heart of the commercial theatre, and it was a sort of star policy but undoubtedly a period of greatness. The theatre rose to tremendous heights and you on this continent know a little about that because during that time the Company, under those two great men toured this country with some of the best that they could offer.

Often it it said to us in our newspapers, that "Ah, well, you know the Old Vic isn't like it was when John Gielguid was there, or Laurence Olivier." Well, I know it isn't. But then what those people forget is that at the time when those peope were there, or the people that they mention, they very often were not stars then. They were learning their job.

And now the theatre is back in the Waterloo Road where it belongs. It returned there in 1950, and the policy which Miss Baylis started, of encouraging young artists and giving them their first chance at big leading roles is in process again.

We still have stars, of course we have. The theatre cannot live without them. But the policy has changed just that little bit again, and it is back to encouraging young people to make their first attempt and to go on and to mature, and to gain stature in the theatre.

We are asked why we do it. Why do you perform Shakespeare? One is always asked that. The only answer one can give is that he writes the best plays, and he writes the best parts.

In performing a lot of these plays one finds . . . it doesn't matter whether he was Marlowe or Bacon, actually . . . . one finds one gets to know the man a little through the greatness that comes out of these plays—the tremendous philosophy that comes out of a play like *The Tempest* or *King Lear.*

William Wordsworth once said to the essayist, Charles Lamb, "I think I could write like Shakespeare, if I had a mind to."

Charles Lamb said, "Yes, that is all that is needed—the mind."

That is why we perform these plays.

It is strange how little audiences know about what goes on behind the scenes. The way we work at the Old Vic is like this. We do a season, which starts in September, and goes through to the following June, and we perform in that time about seven plays. Normally, we put on one play and we rehearse the next, and then that play goes on, so we are then performing two plays in the evening, alternately, and rehearsing a third. This goes on until we have done all. So at one time in one week of Old Vic you could see four different plays done by the same group of people working together the whole time.

That is also very important, that actors get the opportunity to work together as a team. They get to know how to act with each other. That is very valuable and it is something that one doesn't get in the West End. The West End has other advantages to offer. More money, for instance. But that is a great advantage we have at the Old Vic.

In order to do this we rehearse a play for usually four weeks. That means we rehearse on four full days. We don't rehearse on the matinee days which are two a week. A play goes on—it is alarming to think about it—roughly speaking, in about sixteen days, and in order to do that we have to rehearse from eleven in the morning every day, until five in the evening, and then we go on and act the plays at night. So, for the people who work, there is about a twelve hour day or a thirteen hour day, six days a week.

That gives you some idea of the sort of pressure we work under. I think it is a good idea, really, that audiences and the public don't know too much about us. I remember a friend of mine was coming out of the theatre, after a matinee performance in London at which the stars were Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontaine. Very great people of the theatre. Two very elderly ladies were coming out of the theatre and one said to the other, "Well, my dear, did you enjoy it?"

The other one said, "Yes, I did, very much."

"Yes, but did you like the Lunts?"

She said, "Yes, I did, but I always thought there were four of them."

I think it is a good idea that the public don't know. I think the theatre has got much too respectable. This prying into artists' lives is a modern thing which I think most of us abhore. I don't think it matters two hoots what face cream Miss Claire Bloom uses, or which restaurant Miss Coral Brown frequented last night, even if it was the “Rock ’n Roll Club” I don’t think it matters. I think what matters is the job we do.

I think that those of us in the theatre who take it seriously can do a great deal, particularly on tours like this, exchanges between countries, not only who are friendly but between countries who are not quite so friendly, can do an immense amount, because we believe we can do just a little, perhaps just a small amount, to create in the world friendship and brotherhood. But I still don’t think the public should know that much about us.

May I close with some words from the Bard who I think had the last word on this, at the end of one of his loveliest plays. A character steps forward and says, “The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo. You, that way; we, this.”

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. C. C. Goldring, Past President of the Club.

"SO IT'S DULLES DITCHWATER"

An Address by

H. NAPIER MOORE
Former Editorial Director of of the
Maclean-Hunter Publishing Co. Ltd.

Thursday, October 11th, 1956.

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: We welcome as our speaker today Mr. H. Napier Moore, who is well known to this audience because of nearly 20 years' residence in this city. Everyone was sorry when he left here in 1954 to take up residence in the Bahamas and we hope that his return visits will be frequent.

Napier Moore was born in Newcastle-on-Tyne and dwelt there just long enough to take his first job as a reporter before going west—far west—to British Columbia in 1912. If at that time he dreamed of a great career in journalism, it is doubtful whether his imagination rose to the colourful experiences he was destined to enjoy. First he was a reporter in British Columbia when Vancouver was only 25 years old. He then moved to Montreal and became a city editor. New York Correspondent for Canadian, Australian and English newspapers came next. The MacLean-Hunter Publishing Company must have been very much on its toes when it lured Napier Moore from the newspapers and brought him to Toronto to become in due course, Editor of MacLean's Magazine, and Editorial Director of the Company.

Retirement in 1954 was fortunately a manner of speaking only. Apart from stupendous jobs of organization like Press Chief for a Royal visit to the Caribbean, Napier

Moore writes a column regularly in The Financial Post, under the title, "Scratch Pad", and I am sure that few Empire Club members, and few of our radio audience failed to note two weeks ago that "Scratch Pad" had an announcement to the following effect: "We have a date on October 11th to gas to The Empire Club." Many of you will have noted an item in the *Toronto Telegram* under the heading "Flash Backs"—50 Years Ago—October 5, 1906: "F. E. Smith, M.P. for Liverpool addressed The Empire Club here. Better known later as Lord Birkenhead, F. E. Smith spoke on "Mr. Chamberlain's Policy and its Prospects". The Northwest coast was heard from and now from the Northeast we have a guest, equally eminent in his field, to speak on the subject, "So It's Dulles Ditchwater". Mr. Napier Moore.

MR. H. NAPIER MOORE: Yesterday, passing through Montreal I was invited to have lunch with an old friend of mine. He took me to a very swagger Club and spent the entire time sitting in front of the television set, looking at the World Series.

About the only thing he said to me was, "Did you hear about Jose, from Mexico?"

So I said, "No."

"Well", he said, "Jose was a Mexican who came all the way up to New York to see the World Series. He could not get a seat. He was desperate. Finally, he got in touch with one of the officials and explained that all his life he had wanted to see a World Series game, and that he had travelled all the way from Mexico to see it, and couldn't they get him in.

"The official said, 'Well, we haven't a seat left in the stadium but it so happens we have just finished painting a flag-pole, and the painter's chair is still on the rope and if you don't mind being hoisted up to the top of the flag-pole, we will be glad to do that so you can witness the game.

"So Jose was hoisted up to the top of the pole. He was thrilled by the whole thing and when the game was over he sat down and wrote a letter back home to Mexico, in which he told of this wonderful experience he had had, and he said that the thing that thrilled him more than anything else was when the entire gathering in the ball park rose to its feet and sang to him, 'Jose, can you see?' "

Now, Jose's difficulties in getting into that ball park were nothing at all compared with my difficulties in getting to this Club today. I spent three days on board the Cunard liner, Ivernia, in a dock in Liverpool harbour. Everything was lovely excepting that she didn't move. We were penned in by gales and I finally went to the Cunard Line representative and said, "Look, I have got to get to Toronto by Thursday to speak to the Empire Club."

He was overwhelmed by this. He said, "Unfortunately, this thing is beyond us. We can't get the ship out of the dock. We have tied up five other liners. I don't know what we are going to do, but I think the best thing is to get you off the ship and see if we can get you a flight back to Canada." On the way up I had my colour camera stolen out of the boat train. When I got here this morning I found that my policy covering it had expired two weeks ago.

We took off from London airport and battled gales all across the Atlantic, arriving many, many hours late and coming into Dorval Airport we had to take evasive action in this mighty stratocruiser to avoid running down a little private plane that was coming in at the wrong time from the wrong direction, as the result of which I saw more of Lake St. Louis and Pointe Claire and other points than I ever want to see again and I arrived here late last night. On top of which I have the worst cold I have ever had, and all together this occasion, while it may be extremely pleasant for you, it is not for me.

But I do want to say how pleasing and happy it is to be back at the Empire Club, because in these days, even in England, on the part of a great many people, and in other parts of the world, the word "Empire" has almost achieved the connotation of a naughty word. It is also good these days to be a Canadian in England. There never was a time when there was more warmth of feeling and more respect in the Old Country than there is today in so far as Canada is concerned.

I should, I suppose, explain the title of this address today—how it came about. When the Suez crisis broke, the British press, which was supporting the government's policy of a firm, quick action, came out very strongly indeed for such action. Then came Mr. Dulles with his restraining hand, and the subsequent conferences and talks, and talks, with the result that the British press coined the phrase that the Suez Canal had become Dulles' Ditchwater.

Actually, so far as Britain is concerned, the crisis has been anything but dull. Today in Llandudnow in Wales, there opens the Conference of the Conservative Party, and Sir Anthony Eden's prestige is at stake. I read in this morning's paper that some groups may snipe at the Prime Minister for failing, as they say, to keep Britain and United States policy on Suez solidly in line. Just how Mr. Eden and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Minister, could have kept in line with the Washington policy which has been somewhat like static on television, I don't know.

But I do, I think, have an answer to the question that is being asked, the question, what of Eden's action in mobilizing armed strength and rushing troops, warships and aircraft to the Mediterranean. Was it wise?

It is the opinion of very well informed persons with whom I talked just before leaving England, that such action was vitally necessary—necessary to awaken the world to the urgency of the situation, that without it, it is extremely unlikely that the Eighteen Power Conference would have been possible.

In April when I was here speaking to the St. George's Society on St. George's Day, I quoted those lines from King John, which you remember:

"Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them; nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true."

The unhappy truth today is that events, both externally and domestically, have made it difficult for England to be true to herself.

First, of course, and all imporatnt, there are the events precipitated by Egypt's Nasser, and I do not know to what extent the knowledge exists on this side of the Atlantic, as to what Nasser really means. He has, like Hitler, written his *Mein Kampf*. There is a booklet called "The Philosophy of the Revolution" in which he tells that as a child he used to gaze at the sky when he saw planes pass by, and say, "Oh God Almighty, may a calamity befall the English." His hopes, his objectives are made quite clear in this booklet. Oil gives power, therefore, control oil. Keep it away from Britain.

Africa? We are part of Africa. We cannot stand aside from the sanguinary and dreadful struggle now raging there. What he sees is a fusion of non-Christian forces, 370 million Muslims in Indonesia, China, Malaya, Siam, Pakistan, the Middle East, Russia. He visualizes them all united in one faith and he says: I have a great consciousness of the tremendous potentialities that cooperate among them all can achieve. A tremendous power.

The question of Israel. Much more than shipping tools are involved in Nasser's grab of the Suez Canal and always behind it is the shadow of Russia, the Kremlin's object being, as you know, the foothold in the Mediterranean and domination of the Middle East.

I was in the House of Commons that August day when Eden first spoke on the Suez. We walked through crowds of demonstrators who had come to London. By some mysterious agency there were even creches for children established near Victoria Station, where the demonstrators would leave their young and Leftist labour groups were besetting the Houses of Parliament, trying to get interviews with M.P.'s, and so forth. These demonstrations always seem to be from labour groups. You never see a group of chartered accountants or newspaper editors or advertising salesmen lined up, attempting to get hold of Members of Parliament.

The scene in that House was memorable in the extreme. There was a tenseness, a sense of drama, that will long live with me. The place was packed and Eden in stern tones stated that under no circumstances would Britain tolerate control of the vital life-line by a dictator. And, sitting down by courtesy on a front bench, that old warrior, Winston Churchill, now very deaf, leaning forward with his hearing aid, and giving a deep-throated, "Hear, Hear".

That was the day that Mr. Gaitskill, the Leader of the Socialist Party in the House, supported the principle enunciated by the Prime Minister, and of Nasser said, "We have seen this pattern before", and he agreed that military precautions were in principle, necessary.

One had the feeling that here was a united nation, working in concert and in tune with France, determined, not to see a repetition of 1939. And the visible effect that all could see on the British people was Reservists hurrying to join the Colours, leaving their homes, their wives, their children. Great activity at naval bases and air force stations, on the highways sand-painted tanks trundling along or being moved by trucks. Preparation being made for gasoline rationing, threat of increases in the cost of commodities that would have to be brought by a longer route, and everybody taking it in good part. You had the feeling that people in all walks of life remembered what appeasement had done for them just before the last war—a feeling that this was the time for action and firmness.

Then came the first London Conference. It did have value in that eighteen nations subscribed to the policy against the dictator control of an international water.

I went down to see the delegates coming and going, all with determined looks upon their faces, all conscious of the responsibilities that fell upon them. It was interesting to see people like Krishna Menon, a strange man . . . not many people realize that in his youth he was brought up and educated in England and served for a time on a County Council . . . now trying to be the great mediator, with a leaning toward Nasser and, of course, Russia.

Parliament brought back from its recess, and then the most astonishing turn-around on the part of Hugh Gaitskill, a turn-around that came as a shock not only to Britain but to the French Government—a Socialist Government, bear in mind. Why did Gaitskill reverse himself? Politics. Confronted by insurgence of the left wing element in his own party, fearful of the growing dominance of Aneurin Bevan, and a possible alliance between him and Frank Cousins, the newly elected head of the Trade Union Council, who snatched political leadership of the main unions, with decisive leanings toward the left, this resulting in a lamentable division of the House . . . lamentable because it was unnecessary, and because it did not reflect any such sharp division of opinion throughout the land.

And then, above all, came what the British people felt, and I am just reporting, a let-down by the United States . . . a feeling that unity was being sacrificed because of the Presidential election.

Forgotten for the moment was the fact that in Britain herself the Socialists had sacrificed national unity for political expediency. But there was wide-spread bitterness and resentment, sharp criticism in the press. Wasn't the United States pressure behind the lack of determination in Abadan? Wasn't it United States pressure that caused Britain to evacuate the Canal zone? Weren't the Oil interests and some State Department officials deliberately undermining Britain in the Middle East?

You had men like Ted Leathers, the Conservative Member of Parliament, a man who has worked all his life for unity between the United States and Britain, coming out with the definite statement that Eden had worked incessantly and placed himself and his Government in a most precarious position, in order to meet with the United States' aims, and that on three occasions in a matter of eight days of doing so, Mr. Dulles had double-crossed him. It still exists, this resentment against what those people in Britain regard as a let-down by one they thought would be their ally.

There are other problems for this Llandudnow Conference. There is the credit squeeze which has hit industry hard, particularly the automobile industry. Private building, real estate is barely moving, house owners who want to sell can't find buyers, and buyers who want to buy can't find any money.

Trade problems. The loss of trade to Germany and Italy. Late deliveries due to strikes and unrest in labour circles. A feeling of anxiety over the suggested European Free Trade Bloc. There aren't many businessmen in England with whom I talked who have any use at all for that plan.

You have the charge that the Conservatives have failed to go far enough in reversing the trend resulting from Socialism. And I am here to tell you that a great many of the ills that have overtaken Britain spring from the Socialist regime — the lack of incentive, the feeling that the Government is going to do everything for everybody, at somebody's expense. It is taking a long time to overcome that. The nationalized services, the railways, coal mining, still limping. People still being pushed around after being accustomed to stand up in queues for that privilege.

Yet, in spite of fierce taxation at home, and trade competition which is felt to be unfair, the British working man is still better off today than he was five years ago. The average earnings of the workman today is eleven pounds, five shillings, and in 1951 it was eight pounds a week—a forty-five per cent increase. The cost of living has gone up by twenty-five per cent, so the average worker is thirty-five shillings a week better off than he was five years ago.

The spectre of Socialism is still present and the Blackpool Conference and the ascendance of Bevan which menaces Gaitskill's leadership, is worth watching. Perhaps you have read their platform—half pay for everybody when they retire, nationalization of all landlord-owned houses, at a cost that would be ruinous, and goodness knows, today the middle class is just about wiped out by today's taxes, more nationalized health service, and the cost of national health is staggering. Last year it cost $1,386,000,000—all paid for out of the taxpayers' pockets. There were 226,500,000 prescriptions issued under the health scheme last year, at a cost of

$137,500,000. Governments are getting perturbed about this and now are cracking down on doctors that prescribe expensive drugs like terramycin, cortisone, and things like that. They fined a doctor $150 the other day for not slackening up on expensive prescriptions.

Apart from politics it is a changing England that one sees, roaming aroung the country. There is an astonishing United States influence, particularly on the younger generation. You see young children galloping around with Davy Crockett hats and cowboy outfits, which doesn't seem to go with the English countryside. Teenagers have gone mad with Rock 'n Roll, to the point that there were riots in every town where that particular movie was shown.

You have U.S. programs on radio and television . . . U.S. movies, big stage musicales in London, nearly all American. You even had CBS and NBC trying to buy into one of the United Kingdom television stations. You have 48,000 U.S. Air Force personnel stationed in England, all getting more money than the neighbouring community in which they are posted.

You get criticisms now. The other day there was a very prominent United States industrialist who stood up and said that British factories were turning out shoddy goods at excessive prices. Everybody is taking a belt at the Old Land, and there need be no wonder that the over 40s are perplexed, baffled, wishing they could come to Canada, wanting to send their sons to Canada.

And yet it is not by any means a doleful picture all round. Travelling around, and I have done that for four months, meeting all kinds of people in every kind of place —in the villages, in the industrial towns and in London— you still get the feeling that behind it all England is England.

But, telling the story about the man who after making a round of the pubs, being a little wobbly, got on a bus. He hadn't been there very long when a lady got on and immediately he jumped up and gave her his seat and spent the rest of the journey swinging on the strap. When he got off he said to the conductor, "Did you notish me get up and give my s-s-seat to that lady?"

The conductor said, "Yes".

"Well", he said, "you know why I did th-that? I did th-that to demonstrate th-that the d-d-days of ch-chivalry are not over."

And the conductor said, "Well, I was wondering why you did it because there were only the two of you on the bus."

Well, the days of chivalry are not over. It is a joy to run into kindnesses and courtesies all over the country. There is still a contentment with the way of life that is being shaped over many centuries, offsetting the teddy boys who are a nuisance.

I was in Albert Hall for the last concert of the Henry Wood Series the other Saturday night. It is a thrill. You can't forget these youngsters that stand in line from early in the morning to get in to stand throughout the concert, and then they stand in queues to get buses to stand on going home. The enthusiasm, the delight, the bursting of balloons and the honking of automobile horns and the ringing of bells and the cheering—all to subside in a solemn hush the moment the conductor raises his baton.

The popular program in which this vast audience joins in singing the old sea shanties. To hear that audience sing "Land of Hope and Glory"—it does something to you.

There is still the respect for law. I don't know how much the papers have been carrying about Nina, the discus thrower, but Nina was pinched on a charge of stealing five hats from a departmental store and when she didn't show up in police court a warrant was issued for her arrest, whereupon the entire Athletic Meet was cancelled by the Russians. They went home.

The famous Bolshoi Ballet from Moscow cancelled its appearance at Covent Garden after people had sat and slept on the pavement for three days and three nights to get tickets. Every pressure was brought to bear by the Russian Ambassador—if they would dismiss the charges against Nina and let her go home . . . she was tucked away in the Soviet Embassy . . . everything would be all right and the Ballet would come.

They went to Lord Reading, they went to everybody, and they were told that no British Government had the power or the inclination to attempt to interfere with the course of British Justice. They weren't to be moved by this, and it is a great feeling. You know if you walk across the grass when you shouldn't you have had it.

There is a writer in London called John Gordon who wrote a piece the other day. He said: "The Bolshoi boys and girls have made Covent Garden at last, (because they did come). Nina of the five hats is still in coy hiding. Diana Dawes is coming home to us, having discovered that all is not gold that glistens in Hollywood. Marilyn has kissed Sir Larry. Liberace has lifted us to ecstasy and joy and Gilbert Harding tells us he doesn't approve of the Sunday Express. Bless 'em all! How can you say life has little joy in it with so much cream in our coffee."

There is still the feeling of light-heartedness about, even in the most nerve-racking crisis.

You remember the lines that Swinburne wrote:

"All our past acclaims our future; Shakespeare's voice and Nelson's hand,
Milton's faith and Wordsworth's trust in this our chosen and chainless land,
Bear as witness: come the world against her, England yet shall stand."

That, I believe to be true.

(*Applause—prolonged.*)

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Sydney Hermant, a Past President of the Club.

"MODERN BRAZIL"

An Address by

HENRY BORDEN, C.M.G., Q.C.,
President, Brazilian Traction,
Light and Power Co., Limited

Thursday, October 18th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: We are delighted to have as our speaker today a member of one of Canada's great families which has rendered notable public service and has incidentally borne out the tradition that the Maritime Provinces are the cradle of an exceptional share of the nation's brains. Henry Borden was born in Halifax, N.S. in the year when his uncle Robert Lair Borden was chosen Leader of the Conservative opposition. Within four or five years there was established, unbeknown to the young boy, a connection with the Empire Club of Canada because this same uncle addressed the Club on "Recent Developments in Parliamentary Institutions", and some nine years later, when Prime Minister of Canada, paid a return visit to speak on "Canada and the Great War". Even as we take a justifiable pride in the fact that Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden addressed the club in his day on two occasions, so do we welcome our distinguished speaker today. Henry Borden did not follow the path of politics but after an extensive education which took him to no less than three universities—McGill, Dalhousie and Oxford, he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, London, in Nova Scotia and in Ontario. It was fortunate for Upper Canada that he established himself in legal practice in Toronto and here he was appointed King's Counsel.

It is interesting to record that Henry Borden obtained his BA at McGill in Political Science and Economics, that he was joint author in 1931 of Fraser and Borden's "Handbook of Canadian Companies" and that he formerly lectured at Osgoode Hall on Corporation Law. Obviously the way was open for an outstanding legal career and for a position of top responsibility in a great corporation coupled with activities in the public service. In this last sphere I will mention only Vice-Chairmanship of the Boards of Governors of the University of Toronto and of the Hospital for Sick Children.

Canadians undoubtedly derive satisfaction from the adventures of industrious gentlemen among them in foreign countries and high among such notable adventures is the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd., which Mr. Henry Borden, C.M.G., Q.C., leads in the office of President. Mastery of the problems of the vast network of public utilities and companies controlled by Brazilian Traction gives our speaker an unrivalled knowledge of his subject which is "Modern Brazil". Mr. Borden.

MR. BORDEN: Gentlemen, my thoughts and my words concern themselves today with that fascinating country, Brazil. That country and its people are close to my heart—not only as a matter of day-to-day necessity because of my work but also as a matter of real affection. Brazil is a great country and I am very happy that my visits there and my many contacts with its people have given me a genuine affection for and admiration of Brazil and Brazilians.

You are all familiar with the famous prophecy made early in this century by that great Canadian statesman, Sir Wilfred Laurier, that "The twentieth century belongs to Canada."

I do not think that the twentieth century belongs to Canada *exclusively*. Perhaps it would be more factual to say that the twentieth century belongs to the New World—North and South America. In this New World there are two countries destined to share an increasingly important part of the remainder of the century. I refer, of course, to Canada and Brazil.

Brazil and Canada suffer somewhat the same handicap. They are not—or have not been—sufficiently known to, or understood by persons in other lands.

As Canadians we are amused and perhaps more than a little annoyed when we discover that sometimes to people in other countries Canada is a slice of the Northwest Territories or the Arctic barrenlands, with permanent frost in the ground and blizzards in the air.

Brazilians, I know, have feelings similar to ours when they learn that in various parts of the world Brazil is portrayed as a country consisting largely of jungle on the banks of the Amazon River, peopled by Indians who dispatch their enemies with poisoned darts or, alternatively, by sending them off to be a luncheon for the voracious piranha fishes.

The fact is, of course, that just as Canada in one part of its area is host to the Arctic Circle and in the larger part is a reasonably temperate country, so Brazil plays host to the Equator but remains in part a non-tropical country. From north to south, Brazil stretches over 2,600 miles—equal to the distance from Toronto to Vancouver—and its climate varies from tropical in the northern regions to temperate in the southern, where agriculture and industry are chiefly concentrated.

I am sure that all of you here today know that Rio is the capital of Brazil but not all of us may have too clear an idea of just where Rio is or of Brazil's geographical location relative to North America. For example, if you were to journey due south from Toronto you would not pass through Brazilian territory at all—you would be too far west and all of Brazil would be to your east. You would, in fact, arrive at Lima, Peru, on the Pacific Ocean. If, however, you were to travel due south from the southeast tip of Greenland you would reach Rio de Janeiro. While on the subject of geography, I would like to remind you also that if you were at Recife, a Brazilian city on the Atlantic Ocean, at the tip of what is called Brazils bulge, you would be only 1700 miles from West Africa across the south Atlantic Ocean.

Brazil occupies approximately 50% of the land surface of South America. It is larger than continental United

States by the size of the state of Texas and somewhat smaller than Canada. It borders on ten other countries in South America, all the countries of that great continent except Chile and Ecuador. It has a population of nearly 60 millions of people, approximately 50% of the total population of South America.

Brazil's history begins in 1500 when it was discovered by the Portuguese Admiral, Pedro Cabral. Not many years later colonization was commenced by Portugal. This accounts for the fact that Portuguese, not Spanish, is the language of the country. The country already had an Indian population and the Portuguese immigrants mixed freely with the native Indian. Then came the African negro as the slave. By the second half of the 16th century the colonists who had settled in the north-east around Bahia and Recife, were beginning to prosper as a result of the great sugar trade which had been developed. This prosperity invited conquest by other European powers, particularly the Dutch who seized Recife and spread their control of the coast north to the mouth of the Amazon. The colonists, without any help from Portugal, gradually pushed back the invaders and recaptured Recife in 1654. The co-operative effort of the whole population, Portuguese, Indians and negroes in expelling the invader built certain loyalties and traditions whose influences are still felt in the north-east of the country.

At this time the settlers in the south of the country, around Sao Paulo, were experiencing considerable difficulties, and it was not long before the more adventurous of them broke away from the settled communities and started expeditions into the interior, driving their cattle with them, living off the land, and enslaving the Indians. In 1700 gold was discovered in the State of Minas Gerais (Minas Gerais means "general mines") by these "bandeirantes' as they are called. The ensuing gold rush saw the growth of interior cities, as seekers from all parts of the country and from Europe swarmed to the area.

For many years after this Brazil was the principal world source of gold which went primarily to Portugal and from there into the world economy.

Brazil was from the beginning a colony of Portugal. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807 the Prince Regent of Portugal, the Royal family and the court set sail for Brazil under the protection of the British Navy and established the Royal court at Rio. In 1816, after Napoleon had been satisfactorily disposed of, the Prince Regent, still in Brazil, became King of Portugal and Brazil. He remained in Brazil until 1821 when he returned to Portugal, leaving his 23-year old son, Pedro, as Regent. On September 7, 1822 Pedro declared Brazil's independence of Portugal and was shortly crowned Dom Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil. Thus Brazil gained her independence without the bloodshed that occurred in many other parts of Latin America.

Dom Pedro II, who, after a 9-year Regency, succeeded his father as Emperor in 1840, governed the country until 1889 when Brazil was proclaimed a Republic following the abolition of slavery during the preceding year. Dom Pedro II was a man of culture with progressive and liberal ideas and a keen interest in scientific affairs. He did a great deal to develop Brazil politically, economically and culturally.

I have already made mention of the native Indians of Brazil, the Portuguese settlers and the Negro slaves brought from Africa. Inter-marriage among these groups became common, producing offspring of mixed blood, although the Portuguese maintained their position as the solid and predominant nucleus of the Brazilian people. More recent immigration has added further strains with immigrants in large numbers from Europe, as well as from Asiatic countries, such as Japan.

A common language—Portuguese, a common religion —Roman Catholicism, and a common loyalty to their country have together proved a strong cohesive force in this country of mixed origins. In no modern country have the problems of racial relations been solved in such a Christian and democratic manner as in Brazil where racial prejudice is of no real consequence. Brazil is in fact evolving a new and distinct ethnic strain.

Brazil's inhabitants are distributed in a decidedly uneven manner—less than ⅓ of the area containing 90% of the people. The remaining ⅔, of course, contain large tracts that are thinly populated, some of them as yet virgin territory. In view of the fact that Brazil's population thirty years ago numbered fewer than 30 millions and that it is capable of supporting a population much larger than . . . it now contains, many estimates have been made of the country's potential capacity. An estimate of 300 millions of people is generally considered to be conservative.

Whatever the ultimate population in Brazil may be, it is a fact that during the past three decades its population has been increasing at the rate of approximately one million a year. There is good reason to believe that this rate of increase will continue and the Government of Brazil has indicated that it believes the population may well be 100 millions by 1975.

It may be of some surprise to you when I tell you that Brazil's capital, Rio de Janeiro, is a city of nearly 3 millions of people. It has often been called the world's most beautiful city and certainly would stand very high in any such ranking. Sao Paulo, another city approximately 250 miles from Rio, and the industrial heart of the country—indeed of the continent—is a modern city in every respect and has become internationally famed as the world's fastest growing city. The tremendous growth of Sao Paulo can best be exemplified by comparison with our own city of Toronto. In 1890 Toronto had a population of 181,000; Sao Paulo had 65,000 people. Today Metropolitan Toronto is home to approximately 1-¼ millions of people, while Sao Paulo, like Rio, has close to 3 millions of people.

However, the population fact of greatest immediate importance to Brazil is a simple one. Brazil has 60 million people. It is true that in many sections of the population the quality of living and the cultural level are high, by any standard, but it is also true that other sections leave great room for progress in these respects. The point is that people—people in numbers whether of high or low degree—are a tremendous asset for any country and Brazil has this asset.

Brazil is a democracy. The nation is divided into 20 states each with its own state government, 5 territories in the remote parts of the country governed by the Federal authorities, and a Federal District surrounding the city of Rio.

The Constitution of 1946 is similar to that of the United States of America. There is a congress of two houses, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies—both elective bodies. There is an elected President, who holds the executive power, but who is precluded by the Constitution from succeeding himself. Presidential elections are held every five years by secret ballot. In order to vote a citizen must be able to sign his name and must register at an indicated centre.

Agriculture is the basic industry of Brazil and in it and its ancillary occupations are engaged approximately 9-½ millions of people. While Brazil is using increasing quantities of commercial fertilizer in farming operations and adopting modern agricultural methods with the use of modern machinery, there is no doubt that much of the land most readily available for intensive agricultural purposes has in the past been mined and also that the mechanization of farms has really only commenced. Partly as a result of this, agriculture is continually pushing to the west and getting further and further from the coast-line in the southern part of the country. This has led to the opening up and development of large unsettled areas and the constant pushing back of the frontiers of civilization. A great many of us here today can well remember in our younger days the almost irresistible appeal or attraction to our own western country and the slogan "Go west young man; go west." For some time a similar situation has existed in Brazil with its general movement of civilization to the west, called by some 'the march to the west."

Brazil's economy has always tended to be dependent on one particular commodity over a certain period of time. The first of these basic products was sugar. It attracted people and brought wealth to the north and northeast of the country and first accustomed Brazilians to the idea of producing for world markets. After the sugar cycle came cotton, then gold, then rubber and now, of course, Brazil's biggest and best-known crop—coffee, in the production of which it leads the world and which in dollar value accounts for approximately 60% of Brazil's export trade. Brazil is also among the world's leaders in the production of cotton, cocoa, corn, sugar and rice.

Brazil grows wheat. Its annual consumption of wheat is approximately 2-½ million tons. Of this amount in 1955 it produced not much in excess of 600,000 tons and was obliged to import the balance. Its chief source over the years for its imports of wheat has been the Argentine, but in recent years it has purchased from Canada and from the United States.

Brazil is a rich storehouse of minerals. While we in Canada can be proud of the relatively recent iron-ore discoveries in our country and of other developments, we should remember that Brazil contains iron-ore deposits estimated at 13 billion tons, almost ¼ of the world's known iron-ore deposits and of exceptionally high quality.

I have already mentioned that when Brazil was a Portuguese colony it was the largest gold producing country in the world and it still contains much mineral wealth including manganese, rock crystal, diamonds and other precious stones of incomparable beauty. In fact, Brazil is the supplier to the democratic world of rock crystal so vital to our defence requirements. Recently a very important discovery of zinc and copper has been reported.

On the other hand, Brazil is sadly deficient in certain minerals so important to modern industry. Its coal deposits found chiefly in the south are not abundant and are of inferior quality. There is a belief which is widespread that Brazil contains large quantities of oil but as yet these reserves have barely been tapped and the method by which these oil reserves are to be explored and develpoed has divided public opinion and resulted in a burning political problem involving national sentiment and pride. Brazil at the present time imports petroleum products of a value close to $300,000,000 per annum and these importations, along with wheat, result in a heavy drain of her annual foreign exchange availabilities.

Brazil is going through a tremendous industrial and commercial expansion. In the south-east part of the country, in the cities of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro (including the Federal District) and Minas Gerais, there live some 22 million people forming a large and compact market for the products of industry. It is in this area that the industrial growth since World War II has been most striking. The largest manufacturing industry is the textile industry in which approximately 25% of the country's industrial labour force is employed. Other important industries are iron and steel, aluminum, cement, construction, food processing, leather, glass, chemicals, pharmaceuticals and plastics.

This rapid expansion in every phase of the country's development over the past decade has resulted in a real rise in the standard of living and also a terrific spiral of inflation. Since 1948 the cost of living indices in Rio and Sao Paulo have risen from 100 to approximately 233. In fact these indices show that in these areas the cost of living since 1951 has doubled.

Much has been said and written in the past three or four years about Brazil's foreign exchange difficulties. With her rapidly expanding economy and tremendous increase in the internal price level, the huge demand for consumer and capital goods not manufactured within the country, and the necessity to import large quantities of wheat and petroleum products, there was created some five years ago an external payments problem of major proportions which has not yet been completely overcome. Rigid import control regulations and complicated exchange regulations, however, have been in effect for several years and the country's position foreign exchange-wise is easier now than it has been in recent years.

The monetary unit is the cruzeiro and the official exchange rate in terms of the United States dollar has been 18.82 cr. to the $1. for many years. However, largely as the result of the difficulties to which I have just referred, some three years ago new and drastic exchange regulations were put into effect. These regulations did not abolish the official rate but established a system of auctions for the purchase of foreign exchange with which to pay for imports. All imports were divided into 5 categories depending upon essentiality and the Bank of Brazil at each auction (usually held twice a week in Rio and Sao Paulo although of course other auctions are also held elsewhere in the country) allocates a certain amount of exchange to each category. Importers thus bid for the available exchange and the successful bidders must then go to the Bank of Brazil and pay the auction premium plus the official rate of 18.82. They may then apply for an import permit for the special goods or materials. The approximate premiums presently being paid in the various categories are—Category 1, Cr. 51; Category 2, Cr. 77; Category 3, Cr. 120; Category 4, Cr. 195; Category 5, Cr. 340. In addition to the auctions for imports, there is a free market in which other transactions (e.g. remittances of interest, payment of debt, etc.) may be made. The present free market rate is approximately Cr. 66 to the $1.

Apart from all of the foregoing there is a special exchange rate of Cr. 43.82 applicable to certain types of transaction including the transactions of public utilities for importation of equipment and for remittance of profits, payment of debt and so on. I am sure I have told you enough to indicate to you that the system of exchange regulation is a complicated one.

Brazil, with its millions of people, provides a potentially large and profitable market for an exporting country such as Canada but as you all know we cannot continually sell to Brazil unless we purchase on a corresponding scale. In four of the last five years Brazil has bought more from us than we have from her. Last year, however, i.e., 1955, showed a marked drop in Canadian exports to Brazil, these exports totalling only 11-½ million dollars while our imports from Brazil totalled 30-¾ million dollars. We in Canada need and must have enduring and stable markets for our exports but we must at least balance our exports by purchasing from Brazil many of the things which it can supply and which we do not have or produce in Canada.

The importance to Canada of Latin-American trade and particularly trade with Brazil is rapidly increasing. For example, the dollar value of Canadian exports to Latin-America increased by nine times between 1939 and 1955. This compares to a seven-fold increase in our exports to the United States and to slightly less than a twofold increase in our exports to the United Kingdom in the same period. Over the past five years Canada has imported from Brazil more goods in value than from any other country if we exclude the United States, Great Britain and petroleum products from Venezuela.

It would be a mistake, of course, for us to think of our present and future relations with Brazil only in terms of trade. Brazil occupies an important strategic position in the world and is emerging as a truly important world power.

We Anglo Saxons, whose native tongue is English, are inclined, I feel, at times to be very smug and instinctively to feel that those whose tongue is not our own are in some manner inferior, strange, foreign, uneducated. I know you are all aware how erroneous this conception is. Further we are sometimes inclined to criticize the manner in which business is done when it is not done "our way." Then, instinctively, we try to impose "our way" of doing business. This is resented, causes ill will and results in lack of cooperation. Advice from the heart is welcomed but, gentlemen, remember advice is different from dictation or coercion or criticism.

Believe me, in Brazil you will find any number of very able men in business, in government, in the professions. And not only do you find *able* men, you also find men who are cultured, intelligent and charming.

Brazilian architects and builders have caught the world's attention by their creative designs and projects—functional, yet artistic. In music, Brazilian composers have made use of the folk melodies and rhythms in writing music that is distinctively Brazilian. The same sort of individuality is exemplified in their painting, their sculpture, and in an ever-growing volume of literature. From Brazil have come scientists, statesmen and men of world renown in all walks of life.

Brazilians have, of course, many ties binding them to Europe, but they have not attempted to build in their country a European type of civilization. The climate makes its influence felt in many ways—the gaiety of brilliant sunshine, the abruptness of nightfall, the warmth of tropical nights. These climatic influences produce a way of life differing from ours in many respects. And so the Brazilians are evolving, wisely, a modern civilization adapted to the needs of a tropical region. They are having their economic troubles, as what nation from time to time does not, but no one who has been to Brazil can doubt for a minute that these able and charming people will overcome their problems, will develop their bountiful natural resources, and will furnish the world with an example of a truly democratic nation, happy, prosperous and united.

For a long time now public men, labour leaders and industrialists in all countries have stressed through the press and otherwise the theme of increased production, more productivity per man-hour and all the phrases to which that theme has given birth. With that theme and with the benefits of material progress involved therein, I of course have no quarrel. But perhaps as nations, as citizens and as human beings, we have yielded to the temptation to become so immersed in material pursuit that we have come to accept the high standard of living, the comforts and blessings which we enjoy as entirely of our own handiwork. Such is not my belief and my thoughts in this respect could not be better expressed to you than in the words used by Abraham Lincoln in one of his proclamations of thanksgiving:

> "We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of heaven; we have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity . . . . but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virture of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us."

To me the spirit and message conveyed by the words of that proclamation are most apt at the present time, and because, like Canada, Brazil is a country of deep religious faith, I know that those words would strike responsive chords in the hearts of Brazilians no less than Canadians.

Free and peaceful men everywhere have reason to be thankful that Brazil's development has followed a steady, progressive course and that that great country is, with us, ranged in strength and with determination against aggression and oppression and against those who are so shamefully trying to teach millions of people that there is no God.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. James H. Joyce, a Past President of the Club.

"MR. SPEAKER"

An Address by

THE HON. L. RENE BEAUDOIN,
B.A., LL.B., Q.C., M.P.
The Speaker of the House of Commons, Ottawa

Thursday, October 25th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: Honorable Senators, Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club,

Our speaker today was introduced to the members of the Empire Club last year on his first visit as our guest speaker, so that I will only recapitulate briefly that L. Rene Beaudoin was born in Montreal in 1912, was educated at the University of Montreal and having been called to the Bar was made Queen's Counsel in August 1952. He has been successful in three Federal elections and has represented Voudreuil-Soulanges in the House of Commons without interruption since 1945. His scholarly enthusiasm for parliamentary procedure has been well known for years, but it is well to emphasize that it is backed up by extensive practical experience in the intricacies of the House. He was a member of all the special committes of the House from 1945 to 1949, when he became Deputy Chairman of Committees of the Whole: in 1952 Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees of the Whole. Meanwhile Mr. Beaudoin was a delegate to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences in Australia and New Zealand in 1950, Ceylon in 1952 and London in 1953. It is not surprising that on Novemeber 12, 1953, Mr. Beaudoin was elected Speaker of the House of Commons to plaudits all around him.

Apart from the fact that this high office dates back to 1377, we can judge its importance from the degree of precedence accorded to the Speaker of the House at Westminster — first commoner until 1919, the Speaker now ranks after the Prime Minister and Lord President of the Council, but before all peers of the realm, except the two archbishops.

In considering the exalted place of the Speaker in the life of the nation, we find that he is expected to be like a sturdy oak towering above the ordinary run of men.

The French poet LaFontaine has told us of the dangers faced by the lofty tree in the charming story of Le Chêne et le Roseau. Says le roseau:

"Les vents me sont moins qu'à vous redoubtables;
Je plie et ne romps pas. Vous avez jusqu' ici
Contre leur coups epouvantables
Résisté sans courber le dos;
Mais attendons la fin, Comme il disait ces mots
Du bout de l'horizon accourt avec furie
Le plus terrible des enfants
Que le nord êut portés jusque-là dans ses flancs.
L'arbre tient bon; le roseau plie,
Le vent redouble ses efforts,
Et fait si bien qu'il déracine
Celui de qui la tête au ciel était voisine . . ."

We require that the speaker shall play the part of the tree, but all men of goodwill must ponder its fate. The Speaker is a symbol of our heritage of freedom and the storms of controversy cannot be allowed to supplant the sturdy chêne with the pliant roseau, seemingly constructed especially for its own preservation. Our speaker today is a tree in the great tradition.

Mr. L. Rene Beaudoin, B.A., LL.B., Q.C., M.P. is the undoubted authority on the role of the Speaker throughout history and on into the present day, and I have great pleasure in calling upon him to address the Empire Club on his chosen subject, "Mr. Speaker".

THE HON. L. RENE BEAUDOIN: May I express to you, sir, and to the Officers and Members of your Club, my gratitude for the great honour you have conferred on me by inviting me to address you again.

When I spoke to you a year ago I found the audience most sympathetic and most interested in all matters pertaining to our parliamentary institutions. The warmth of your welcome today indicates to me that your disposition in that regard has not only been maintained, but even improved.

Through your Year Book, made available to thousands of Canadians, the information collected at this rostrum receives a very wide circulation indeed.

Having in mind the worthy purposes of your Club and the importance of the station from which I speak, I do hope that my modest contribution will be helpful.

Mr. Speaker: Few other titles embrace so much historical significance. Although there were officers presiding over the Parliaments held between 1295 and 1376, it is generally agreed that the first member to be called "Mr. Speaker" was Sir Thomas Hungerford, appointed in January, 1376.

In order to trace the history of the Speakership in England from its medieval beginning to the present modern age, one must follow the evolution of the English Parliament itself. Illbert, in his work entitled: "Parliament", divides the history of the English Parliament into four great periods:

First: "The period of the medieval Parliaments of which the Parliament of 1295 became the Model and Type";

Second: "The period of the Tudors and Stuarts, having for its central portion the time of conflict between King and Parliament, between prerogative and privilege;

Third: "The period between the Revolution of 1688" (the date which reminds us of the advent of Cabinet or Parliamentary Government) "and the Reform Act of 1832";

Fourth: "The modern period which began in 1832".

To simplify our study of the Speakership, however, let us establish two main headings:

(1) The emancipation of the Speakership from the Crown which gradually took place in the first two periods mentioned by Illbert.
(2) The emancipation of the Speakership from party politics which took place in the last two periods mentioned by Illbert.

The Speaker in England today enjoys as Presiding Officer prestige and authority which are without parallel anywhere else in the world. This authority and prestige are anchored on impartiality. His impartiality has been secured and guaranteed, not by statutes, but by a certain set of principles, conditions and arrangements developed over six centuries. Notwithstanding the fact that he is always selected for his high moral, intellectual and humanitarian virtues, he has been protected as fully as the British genius could devise, both against himself and others to the extent that the temptation on his part to be partial and the inclination of others, both in the House and outside the House, to doubt his impartiality, have practically been eliminated.

Before 1688, i.e., before Parliamentary Government, the Commons had been engaged in a struggle against the Crown in order to establish its autonomy. The Speaker who was the Spokesman for the Commons was under the influence of the Crown. His choice at the time of his appointment was dictated by the Crown, and he often held a Crown appointment. As a matter of fact, it was considered proper that the Speaker should hold a profitable appointment under the Crown. For instance, Speaker Cook was Solicitor General; Speaker Seymour was Treasurer of the Navy; Speaker Harley was Secretary of State, and Speaker Compton was Paymaster General. Thus, dependent upon the Crown, Speakers often informed the Sovereign about certain proposed measures contemplated by the Commons and, in some cases, were instrumental in blocking the passage of Bills. Serving two masters, the Crown and the Commons, was a difficult task indeed.

You will recall, the predicament in which Mr. Speaker Finch found himself one day, when Charles I had directed him to instruct the House to adjourn. The Commoners, led by Sir John Eliot, refused to comply and when the Speaker was about to leave the Chair he was kept there by physical force. Speaker Finch said: 'What would any of you do if you were in my place? Let not my desire to serve you faithfully be my ruin. I am not less the King's servant for being yours. I will not say 'I will not put the reading of the paper to the Question', but I must say I dare not!"

In those days the approval by the Crown of the choice of a Speaker of the Commons was not a mere formality as it is today. It was not until 1695 that a Speaker, Paul Foley, was elected freely by the Commons and accepted by the Crown. Although 32 years after Speaker Foley's election had passed Walpole still contended that "the way to the Speaker's Chair lay through the gate of St. James Palace". From that time on, however, no Speaker has ever been refused. The right of free election having been asserted, there remained the elimination of Crown appointments. When Speaker Onslow was elected in 1727 he resigned the Crown appointment which he held and the Commons adopted an act forbidding acceptance by Speakers of any office of profit under the Crown. The Speaker may be a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, which is not an office of profit, but gives him the title of "Right Honourable".

The liberation of the Speakership from party politics took place mainly from 1727 to 1852. It started with Speaker Onslow who served the House for 33 consecutive years. The consolidation of the Independence of the Chair from the Crown and the beginning of the emancipation of the Speaker from party politics is attributed to Onslow. Redlich says that "Shaw-Lefevre, who held office from 1839 to 1857 finished in the nineteenth century what Onslow had begun in the eighteenth century. He completed and permanently settled the doctrine of the Speaker's absolute impartiality. From the middle of the

nineteenth century therefore, the Speaker has been independent of the Crown".
(Redlich, Vol. 2, pages 166-167).

In analysing the development of the Speakership from the beginning of Speaker Onslow's term in 1727 to the end of Shaw-Lefevre's term in 1857, there is one fact that must be noted by us Canadians, a fact which I believe facilitated the process of the Speaker's independence in England. Whereas, in Canada no member has been elected for more than one term as Speaker, except Mr. Speaker Lemieux, the re-election of the same person for several terms was not uncommon practice in England even in the seventeenth century. Although not for consecutive terms, Speaker Lenthall was elected Speaker five times, Speaker Trevor was elected twice, Speaker Seymour was elected three times, two of his terms being consecutive. Speakers Crew, Williams and Foley were also elected for two consecutive terms and in the eighteenth century, before Onslow, Speaker Harley had been elected for three consecutive terms, Speaker Compton for two consecutive terms. So, when Speaker Onslow began his long and fruitful tenure of office, being elected for five consecutive terms, from 1727 to 1761, it was almost the established practice to keep the same member in office for several consecutive terms.

It is interesting to note the pattern of continuity which has been maintained since Onslow.

Speaker Arthur Onslow was Speaker 33 years, elected 5 times;
Speaker Cust, elected twice, served 9 years;
Speaker Norton, elected twice, served 10 years;
Speaker Cornwall, elected twice, served 9 years;
Speaker Grenville, served one term only;
Speaker Addington, elected four times, served 12 years;
Speaker Mitford served one short term;
Speaker Abbott, elected 5 times, served 15 years;
Speaker Manners-Sutton, elected 7 times, served 17 years;
Speaker Abercromby, elected twice, served 4 years;
Speaker Shaw-Lefevre, elected 4 times, served 18 years.

In the modern period from Speaker Shaw-Lefevre to the present Speaker Mr. Morrison, Mr. Speaker Denison succeeded Mr. Speaker Shaw-Lefevre. He was elected 4 times and served from 1857 to 1872. He was succeeded by Mr. Speaker Brand, who is well remembered for what was termed a coup d'etat at the time of the endeavours of the Irish Nationalists to obtain Home Rule, was elected 3 times and served 10 consecutive years. Mr. Speaker Peel, who was the first bearded Speaker of the House, and a brother of Prime Minister Peel, was elected 4 times and served 10 consecutive years. Mr. Speaker Gully was elected 3 times and served for 10 years. Mr. Speaker Lowther was Speaker from 1905 to 1921 and it was he who, as Chairman of the U.K. Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, presented to our own House of Commons the magnificent gift of the Speaker's Chair. Mr. Speaker Whitley against whom a motion of censure was moved and defeated in 1925, served from 1921 to 1928; Mr. Speaker Fitzroy, one of the only 2 or 3 English Speakers who died in office, from 1928 to 1943; Mr. Speaker Brown from 1943 to 1951 and Mr. Speaker Morrison, the present Speaker, who has been in office since 1951.

From Speaker Onslow to Speaker Morrison 229 years have elapsed. In those 229 years there have been twenty Speakers. I am the twenty-third Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons in the 89 years since Confederation.

I believe that the Canadian Commons is the only House in the Commonwealth where the prevailing tradition is the opposite of the English practice of continuous service. In England "once a Speaker, always a Speaker". In Canada, a member is Speaker for one term and no more. It has always been the recognized rule that at the time of his first election the Speaker in England emanates from the party in power, but once he is elected he may remain in office as long as he himself feels capable of performing his duties. Furthermore, once he retires from the Speakership he cannot reappear in the House either as a private member or as a member of the Government. In 1804, Mr. Addington, who had been Speaker and Prime Minister reappeared in the House as a private member but soon felt that he should resign and asked to be transferred to the Upper House.

As you know, the situation is quite different here. I shall not go back to Confederation, but let us consider a few examples. The Hon. Charles Marcil, who was Speaker from 1909 to 1911, occupied a seat in the House as a private member from 1911 to his death on Jan. 29, 1937. Hon. Edgar Rhodes, who was Speaker from 1917 to 1921 was later for a time Minister of Finance. Hon. George Black who was Speaker from 1930 to 1935, reappeared in the House as a private member in 1945. Hon. P. F. Casgrain, who was Speaker from 1936 to 1940 became Secretary of State. Hon. James Glen, Speaker from 1940 to 1945 came back to the House as Minister of Immigration and Natural Resources. Hon. Gaspard Fautaux, Speaker from 1945 to 1949 was a private member of the House when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Quebec on October 1st, 1950.

In England, ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Speaker ceases to belong to any political party from the moment of his election. As long as he respects that condition he is assured of reelection no matter what party comes to power.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century to this day all Speakers have been regularly reelected irrespective of the party in office with the exception of one: Mr. Speaker Manners-Sutton.

Mr. Speaker Manners-Sutton, who served from 1817 to 1834, had been first elected by the Conservative party. When the Whigs came to power, he was maintained in office for a while and at the next election, when the Whigs returned again, they elected one of their own party men, Mr. James Abercromby. The conduct of Mr. Speaker Manners-Sutton in office had been perfect but he continued to regard himself as a member of his party at the time of a general election and that behaviour on his part cost him his re-election as Speaker in 1834.

Mr. Speaker Shaw Lefevre came from the Whig or Liberal Party but he was re-elected as Speaker in 1841 by the Conservatives. Mr. Speaker Brand was a Liberal originally, re-elected by the Conservatives in 1874. The same treatment obtained for Mr. Speaker Peel, Liberal, who was re-elected by the Conservatives in 1886, and Mr. Speaker Gully, a Liberal, was also re-elected by the Conservative Unionist Party in 1895. Mr. Speaker Brown who had been elected by the Nationalist Party in 1943 was kept in office by the Labour party from 1945 to 1951 at which time he retired and Mr. Speaker Morrison was elected by the Conservatives in 1951.

Since the Speaker ceases to belong to any political party and yet must preserve a seat in Parliament, he does not seek a renewal of mandate as a Member of any political party. The formula is to label him as the Speaker seeking re-election. It is guaranteed that he will have no opposition from any of the parties at election time. There were some very few deviations from this arrangement.

Mr. Speaker Gully was opposed at the election of 1895 by the Tory party in his constituency, but he was re-elected as a Member and the Conservative Unionist Party which formed the Government re-elected him as Speaker.

If my memory serves me right, I think that in the general election of 1954 in England an independent tried his luck against Mr. Speaker Morrison in his constituency but was miserably defeated.

In Canada, the Speaker who ceases to belong to any political party while in office and must abstain from any political activity during his term of office, re-enters the party at the time of the dissolution of the Parliament for which he served and it is customary for all parties to treat him as any other candidate.

In England, the Speaker must refrain from any political activity or expressing any political views within the House or outside the House, even in his own constituency. In the House, he cannot speak except from the Throne and on matters relating to the performance of his duties. Redlich says that until Onslow, in 1727, Speakers have been accustomed, though with diminishing frequency, to address the House by leave while it was engaged in debate. For instance, in 1813, Mr. Speaker Abbott spoke strongly against the Bill introduced by Grattan for relief of Catholics. In 1821, and 1825, his successor, Speaker Manners-Sutton spoke against the repeal of Catholic disabilities. In 1834, the same Speaker spoke against the bill for admitting dissenters to Universities. In 1856, Speaker Shaw Lefevre spoke on the management of British museums.

Since that date, there has been only one instance of a Speaker's participation in a committee debate, namely, on the 9th of June, 1870, when Speaker Denison spoke against an unimportant, but as he considered, unjust item of proposed taxation.

In Canada, Speakers did participate in Committee debates on matters of non-controversial character. Citation 426 of Beauchesne's 3rd Edition states that "although the Speaker is restrained by usage while he is in the Chair in the exercise of his independent judgment, he is entitled in a Committee of the Whole House to speak and vote like any other member. In late years, however, he has generally abstained from the exercise of this right".

This citation it taken from May's Parliament Practice, 13th Edition, which was published in 1924.

The latest instance that I find in which a Speaker has taken part in a debate occurred in 1927, on April 7th, when the House was considering in Committee of the Whole an Act to amend the Post Office Act. Mr. Speaker Lemieux, as will be found at pages 2034 and 2035 of Hansard, Vol. II, 1926-27, rose and said: "This is not a party question and I may therefore venture to remind the committee that at one time I was Postmaster General, and consequently am very much interested in the whole subject". And he carried on for a few minutes. Mr. Irvine, and Mr. Adshead spoke after Mr. Speaker Lemieux. Then Mr. Guthrie took the floor and said as reported in Hansard at page 2036 of the same year: "I rise to call the attention of the Committee to an incident which has just occurred and which I think should be noted. The presiding officer of this House has seen fit to address a few remarks to this Committee and I think we should take note of the innovation. I do not know that I draw attention to the fact by way of protest at all, because the remarks made by His Honour were very useful to the discussion and very elevating in their tendency, but the question is whether the Speaker of this House has the right to discuss any matters before the House. If His Honour has that right in this case, I do not see why he should not have the right to discuss any matter which comes before Parliament. I noticed in his remarks that he expressed the desire to facilitate the efforts of the Postmaster General. No doubt that is a very laudable desire, but there are members of this House who do not think this measure is proper, and I doubt if it is within the right of the Speaker to express an opinion upon any matter before the House. His Honour the Speaker on more than one occasion has laid down the doctrine pronounced by a celebrated Speaker in England in these words:

> May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here—

I think we should note the innovation, and I do not say this by way of protest against anything His Honour said, because no one has a higher respect for the Speaker of this House than I have. While a Deputy Speaker is allowed to take part in debates in the House in non-controversial matters, I have never in my experience heard a Speaker of the House take part in any proceeding except when the estimates of the House of Commons were before the committee. I think we should take note of this proceeding, because in the future it may become a precedent and I think the Speaker in his own interest should be prevented from taking part in the debates of this House. The rule says he shall not take part in the debates of this House, but whether or not that applies to committee I am not going to say at the moment."

Mr. Marcil defended Mr. Lemieux in the following terms: "Having been at one time Speaker of this House I am somewhat familiar with the practice as to the restrictions upon the occupant of the Chair. We are all at one on the point involved that the Speaker should never take part in any debate in the House except for the purpose of explaining his own estimates. That is a well known rule of Parliament. But I know that the House is disposed this morning to overlook the course pursued by His Honour in view of the motives which animated him. Mr. Speaker spoke for the youth of the country on high moral grounds, and to further the development of that sound Canadian sentiment which we are all striving to see realized in this golden jubilee year of the Dominion. I am sure that the leader of the opposition as he himself has said, has no intention of blaming the Speaker, and I quite agree with him that it would be out of place for His Honour to take part in our discussions having reference to matters of ordinary, everyday occurrence. In the present case, however, His Honour spoke from his experience as Postmastter General, and with the laudable purpose of promoting the circulation in Canada of a larger number of British periodicals. Because, after all, we are part and parcel of the British Empire.

Mr. Speaker Lemieux justified his intervention in debate. "I am in agreement", he said, "with the contention that the Speaker should take no part in the ordinary debates of the House. But this morning we are in committee, and the committee is discussing an important matter, and it was on purely moral grounds that I raised my voice against the sale of pornographic literature or newspapers on the streets of our cities. But what is really the law on the subject? The hon. gentleman has quoted from Beauchesne." Mr. Speaker Lemieux quoted himself from Beauchesne and May. He concluded: "I repeat that I quite agree with the principle laid down by the hon. gentleman and by all authorities that the Speaker from the Chair must not take part in the debate; that he must not vote unless there is a tie; but in committee he has a right to speak and to vote. I never speak unless on an exceptional occasion like this morning, on a non-party matter, on a purely moral issue, and I would not even vote. I quote these precedents to show the Leader of the Opposition that this morning, the 7th day of April, 1927, no revolution took place in the Canadian House." However, so far as I can ascertain, no Speaker has ever taken part in any debate in Committee of the Whole since that time.

The Speaker in England cannot express any political views outside the house, even in his own constituency. He is deprived, therefore, of his rights as a member and his constituents are deprived of the services of their member. Redlich, with a quotation from May, gives a comprehensive account of this situation.

> "The complete aloofness from politics imposed upon the Speaker received its full extension during the nineteenth century, when it came to be considered that he must keep himself free from all political action outside as well as inside the House, even in his own constituency. He is thus the only member of the House of Commons who is not allowed, either in speech or writing, to advocate the interests of his constituents. The position in which his constituency is placed is accurately described in England as one of practical disfranchisement. The latest historian of the House gives a capital description of the situation in the following terms:—'The Speaker's constituents not only do not go to the poll; they cannot, according to present-day usages, call on their representative to vote either for or against any measure which may be before Parliament. As the Speaker never meets his constituents to discuss politics, one of the chief means of present-day political education is lost to them. Political organization is suspended in a Speaker's constituency; for a present-day Speaker has no need of any local party organization to secure his return, even if he deemed it proper to contribute to party funds. The newspapers in the constituency have necessarily to refrain from criticism or comment on the parliamentary conduct of its representative; and in nearly all the essentials which go to make representation, the constituency is unrepresented. In

> the constituency represented by the Speaker of today, political life is dormant; for all its outward activities, as they concern both political education and local political organization, are suspended. But no constituency complains or frets under its temporary and peculiar political difficulties. It is honoured in the honour done by the House of Commons and the country to its representative."

In Canada Speakers have refrained from taking part in any political activity outside the House, even in their own constituencies. Ever since I was appointed Deputy Chairman of Committees, and Deputy Speaker and Speaker, from 1949 to the present, I have abstained from attending any political meetings except during the General Election which took place in 1953. Prior to 1949 I used to call a meeting at least once a year of all my organizers, in order to review with them the political situation, both domestic and external. No such meeting has been held in my constituency since 1949. It is difficult for my constituents to realize that as Presiding Officer I must abstain from exercising some of the activities in which a member usually engages. While I remain idle politically, prospective opponents do not necessarily have to follow my example.

The impartiality of the Speaker is also guaranteed by the rules of the House. Not only can he not participate in debate, but he cannot vote, except to decide a tie. Even then he will vote in accordance with the principles laid down by Mr. Speaker Addington, i.e., in such a way as to give the House itself another opportunity to decide. There has been a rule since the eighteenth century in England that the Speaker cannot address the House except from the Chair and on matters within his sphere of action only. I cannot find any indication that the Speaker of the House of Commons in England has to pilot the estimates of expenditures under his own administration. In Canada once a year the Speaker may be asked to review his administration and explain the purposes of the sums proposed to be spent as laid down in the estimates for the next fiscal year. In debating his estimates he may be called to order by the Chairman of Committees, because at that moment he is under the jurisdiction of the Chair just like any other member of the House. In the United Kingdom the Speaker has the services of a counsel on parliamentary law, besides the assistance which he can always obtain from the experienced Clerks—three in number.

Under the rules members are required to give notice of most of their intended motions and amendments. A question of privilege cannot be raised in the House, unless the Speaker has been consulted. A question without notice cannot be put in the House before the Orders of the Day are called, unless the Speaker has been informed of the text of the question and allowed it to be put on the ground of urgency.

In the material sense the Speaker is provided with a salary, and his family resides in Westminster Palace. He has an allowance for stationery and equipment and upon retirement it is customary for the House to ask Her Majesty to make him the object of Her Royal Favours. He may, therefore, expect a peerage and a seat in the House of Lords. By statute, he is entitled to a life pension.

A word also about the "usual channels" which, I believe, provide a great deal of assistance to the Speaker in the arrangement of the Business of the House. Meetings of the various Party Whips and the Speaker take place quite regularly in order to get agreement on the means of dealing with the items on the agenda. In the Journal of the Hansard Society, Vol. 1, 1947 Major, the Right Hon. James Milner, who was Deputy Speaker, defined the "usual channels".

> "There is another matter you often read about. You hear the Leader of the House (now Mr. Morrison, the Lord President) says that such and such a matter can be arranged through the 'usual channels'. The 'usual channels' are the respective Whips' offices. Conservative, Labour, Liberal and National Liberal have their own Whips' offices and party officials, and when a matter has to be arranged through the 'usual channels' they get their heads together and try to ar-

range the matter in dispute. If, for example, the Opposition wants a little more time for a bill, the Opposition Whips will talk to the Government Whips, and try to persuade them to give a little more time. The Government Whips will probably say, 'We will give you more time on that subject if you will take less on something else'. This is one of the things we do extremely well in this country, making a fair compromise which enables business to be got through in a reasonable way. In foreign countries, and occasionally in this country, it is difficult. In the Parliament that sat from 1906 to 1910 it was very difficult. That was a time when, I am told, Liberals and Conservatives would not sit down at the same tables in the House."

In Canada there are occasional consultations about the Business of the House among the representatives of the various parties, but the "usual channels" as an institution similar to that which exists in the United Kingdom has not yet come into being.

Last year I touched on the various functions of the Speaker. He is the Spokesman of the House, the Administrator and the Presiding Officer.

As Spokesman he claims the ancient rights and privileges of the Commons once at the beginning of every Parliament. Every session he himself presents the Supply Bill or Bills to His Excellency the Governor General or his Deputy for Royal Assent. His duties as Spokesman are very limited compared with what they were in medieval times, but since the last world war, the number of embassies have increased in the capital city and many distinguished visitors honour us with their presence. Social functions in which he participates as host or guest constitute part of his agenda. From time to time when heads of foreign states address the members of both houses in our Parliament Buildings, the Speaker has the pleasant duty of welcoming these visitors. To mention a few of these distinguished foreign visitors, whom it has been my pleasure to meet since the beginning of my term of office: The Queen Mother, the Duke of Edinburgh, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower; the Right Hon. Sir Winston Churchill before he retired from the Prime Ministership; Mr. Magloire, President of Haiti; the President of Italy, Mr. Gronchi; The Right Hon. Mr. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia; the Vice-President of Chile; The Prime Minister of New Zealand, The Right Hon. Mr. Holland; the President of Indonesia, Mr. Sukarno; the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Japan; and His Royal Highness, the Heir to the Throne of Laos in Indo-China.

As Administrator, the Speaker, with the assistance of the Clerk and the Sergeant-at-Arms, supervises a staff of approximately 350 employees which increases to approximately 650 during the session. This staff provides services required by the membership of the House, such as Hansard reporting, Journals, secretarial services, messengers, and the protective force. The members of the protective force, among other duties, serve as guides to the thousands of tourists who visit our buildings. With the assistance of a committee, composed of members of both Houses, the Speaker supervises the administration of a Restaurant, Cafeteria and a Parliamentary Library. He is also the Chairman of the Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

His main task, however, is that of Presiding Officer. I have endeavoured today to review with you how the impartiality of the Speakership, which is the law of its life, has been established over the years in the United Kingdom, and to draw your attention to some of the factual differences between the conditions surrounding Mr. Speaker in England and Mr. Speaker in Canada.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Controller F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.

"EGYPT"

An Address by

SIR HUGH NICHOLAS LINSTEAD, O.B.E., M.P.
Secretary, Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain

Thursday, November 1st, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: Our speaker today is Sir Hugh Linstead, O.B.E., M.P., a most welcome visitor to Canada from London, England. As a Conservative Member of Parliament for the last fourteen years representing the Putney division of Wandsworth in London, he has been in the thick of the battle of ideologies which has dominated the Westminster scene since the war. As a Pharmaceutical Chemist and a Barrister-at-law he has naturally held positions having a close relationship with the National Health Scheme, notably as a member of the British Health Services Council, a member of the Standing Pharmaceutical Advisory Committee and its Sub-Committee on Hospital Pharmacy (of which he is Chairman) and as a member of the Committee on the Internal Administration of Hospitals. He is also Honorary Secretary of the Parliamentary Scientific Committee.

The international reputation of our speaker is amply attested by the honour accorded to him by France in 1948 when he was made an Officier de l'Ordre de la Sante Publique and by honorary memberships in the Pharmaceutical Societies of Antwerp, Texas and India.

In the last few weeks Sir Hugh has travelled from coast to coast and has attended the meetings of the Canadian Pharmaceutical Association. We are singularly fortunate in having him with us today.

There has been a good deal of discussion both before and at the Head Table about the subject of today's talk and by common consent the subject of today's speech will be on the current crisis under the general heading of "Egypt". Sir Hugh Linstead.

SIR HUGH LINSTEAD: I have greatly valued the invitation to speak to your club and with it is some regret that I have to claim your indulgence. It has been announced that I will talk to you about the relationship between the State and the individual in Great Britain, but through the kindness of your chairman I have been allowed to change my subject. It seemed to me that as a Member of the British Parliament, here in Toronto, talking to the Empire Club at this particular moment in history, the least that I owed you and indeed the least that was my duty, was that I should try to tell you something about what is happening in Egypt to-day. It can only be from my personal point of view. I have been away from my home for a month and I have had no sources of information except your newspapers. Nevertheless, I am well familiar with the British House of Commons and I know many of our Ministers personally. In these circumstances I feel that I may have something to say that ought to be said. With that explanation may I plunge straight into my subject?

Why are Israel, France and England doing what they are doing?

We can understand why Israel is taking the action she is. We all know of the intense historical hatred between Arab and Jew. We know too, of the deep patriotic feelings which animate the Jews in relation to the Jewish home which is Palestine. We also know the historical relations between Arab and Jew have been exacerbated by frontier incidents and we know how bitterly Nasser's threats against Palestine have been resented by the Jews. Israel's attitude is surely this—now that Russia is occupied with her satellites and Egypt is embroiled with France and Great Britain she sees an opportunity which may never recur for curbing the growth of Egyptian power and the dangers implicit in repeated Egyptian threats. Now if ever is the time, is what Israel is saying.

We can too, understand the action that France is taking. Let me pay my tribute to France as a colonizing country. Her policy has been a policy of integration. She has sought throughout her colonial countries to bring the peoples into ever closer relationship with the home country. There has never been any colour bar. Algeria is a department of metropolitan France and Algerian citizens send their representatives to the metropolitan parliament. France believed that she was satisfying colonial ambitions by this policy of integration. What she did not realize, as my country has realized only just in time, was how intense is the feeling of patriotic nationalism. Asians and Africans do not want good government. They want Asiatic government or African government. It may be that France has moved too slowly, although at present law and order has been restored to Algeria. France has seen Indo-China slipping away and now Morocco and Tunesia following suit and she has to remember that in Algeria there are 1,000,000 French of Metropolitan France, second and third generation Frenchmen who have made their lives in that country. We can recognize that France in the action she has taken in Algeria and in her action alongside us in the Suez has been animated by pride and self interest. But believe me she has surely been animated by a very real concern for the peoples of the countries for which she has had responsibility. Certainly she has reason for a lively fear of the cry "Africa for the African", for to her it may well mean "Africa for the communists". Remember France has over 100 communist deputies in her National Assembly.

So much for those two questions. Now for the third question which you are entitled to ask me and which I must seek to answer. Why is England doing what she is doing? More particularly, why is she doing it independently of UNO and why is she using force? This I believe to be the crux of the present situation—the position of UNO. Great Britain has consistently sought to make UNO the foundation stone of her foreign policy. No statesman contributed more to the establishment of UNO than has Sir Anthony Eden. No country furthermore has greater need for or desire for peace than Great Britain. What have we to gain by war? We have everything to lose by it. We therefore pinned our faith in UNO when the Second World War was over in spite of our experience with the League of Nations in the old days. We have not been disappointed over the work of the special agencies of UNO such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Refugee Organization when it was functioning, but these special agencies apart, the high hopes we had have dimmed. Russia has kept a grip on her satellite countries until now. China has absorbed Thibet. Only in Korea, by the accident of Russia's absence from the Security Council, has UNO been able to take effective action. Many of the high hopes we all had went with the first use of the veto. We in Great Britain and probably you in Canada are accustomed to the power of veto. The Queen in our country and I suppose the Governor General in yours has the power to veto legislation. But paradoxically the effectiveness of that veto has depended upon its never being used. It was surely our belief when the original statutes of the United Nations were being drawn that the veto should be a rare procedure, to be kept in reserve and to be used only in an extremity. Instead of that Russia has made it a matter of current procedure and her sixty vetos have killed UNO as an agency for the joint maintenance of peace. In consequence UNO has become merely an instrument of national policies. We of the West have been playing a game according to our rules, the rules of UNO, while Russia and the dictatorships have been playing a game according to their rules. For too long we have allowed them to have their way because of our strict adherence to what we thought were the rules binding all of us.

What Great Britain is doing at this present moment therefore, is to call in to question the whole structure of agreements, protocols, notes, schedules, undertakings that we have built around us since the war. We brought them into being in the belief that they would prove to be a strong enough bulwark for democracy against aggression. We have striven hard enough to make them work, Heaven knows. But our verdict now is that in some fields, and those the most important, they have become a snare and a delusion.

That is our verdict. What is yours?

Let me pause here a moment to give the verdict of my chambermaid this morning in this hotel. Learning that I was to speak to you she spontaneously summed up her view of the situation and my duty to you in these words, "Eden had nothing else he could do. England's always taken the dirt. Rub that in and rub it in thick". I duly comply.

Ask yourselves these questions. Are we forever to see the civilized world losing ground before lawlessness and communism? Who is to apply international sanctions if the United Nations Organization is impotent? After Thibet, what? After Indo-China, what? Great Britain negotiated a peace on Persia. Great Britain negotiated a compromise on the Suez base. Is Great Britain to negotiate a compromise on every demand made no matter what country? If she does, to whose advantage is it? There is only one country which gains as Western powers are negotiated out of Asia and out of Africa piecemeal and that is Russia.

As Britain sees it, because of the veto UNO is impotent in many vital fields. Yet if no one takes action then we play into the hands of international anarchy and of the one country that stands to profit by it. This then is the background to what Great Britain is doing in Suez to-day.

We shall be criticized for unduly strong action, but that criticism does not concern me greatly. Once the decision has been taken that action is necessary, then half-hearted action is worse than useless. It must be, and be seen to be, ample to achieve its aim.

Why is Suez so vital to us? In brief, because our economy is shifting its base from coal to oil. Remember we are 50 million people cramped on a small island, dependant for any reasonable standard of life on exports. We can no longer export the heavy machinery of Victorian days. Our customers make it themselves. We must export the latest discoveries in engineering, physics, electronics, aeronautics, and in nuclear fission. At present our second greatest source of power for the factories that make these things is oil. We are dependant on its increasingly for heating, for road transportation and more recently for our railroads. Without it Great Britain would slowly run down. The bulk of our supplies of oil comes to us through the Suez Canal. We dare not allow those supplies to be held under the arbitrary control of one man who has already shut the canal to the ships of one country.

It may be argued that Egypt has acted legally. That is a matter for the lawyers. The point that I am certain about is that their act was by any standards a gross breach of international faith. Supposing that Panama in the purported exercise of its rights of sovereignty were to sieze the Panama Canal. Then the situation would be brought home to the Americans. Co-operation in international affairs depends on good faith far more than it depends on lawyers' interpretations of documents.

Nevertheless had circumstances not gone further than seizure of the canal the question might still have been negotiable. It is true that all through Great Britain has reserved the right to use force but I am satisfied that it was at first intended to use force only in two circumstances, to protect British lives and property and secondly should it have decided to do so by the United Nations Organization.

The Israeli attack, however, put a completely new complexion on the situation. When she marched in to Egypt it became essential to control the flames, it became legal for us to re-open our old Suez base and it became necessary for us to protect our shipping and keep the canal open. Would the United Nations have done all this? Would it have put in forces to keep Israel and Egypt apart? Could it have kept open the canal? The answer to these questions is certainly, no. That is why we and the French have gone in. We have gone in because we have been injured by a gross breach of international good faith. We have gone in in default of there being any other instrument to do so. Certainly we are serving our own vital national interests but we hope and believe that by keeping Israel and Egypt apart we are preventing a prairie fire that would affect the interests of every other country in the world.

The West has for too long been prepared to compromise under the pressure of authoritarian states. Someone sometime must say no. When the policeman is not able to act, some citizens somewhere have got to do something about maintaining the rule of law. In doing so they will of course lay themselves open to criticism, the most obvious being that they are denying the very principle they seek to maintain. When that happens they are at least entitled to ask that their actions should be judged by their previous records. And my country's record in the pursuit of peace is a proud one. She has sacrificed her youth and her riches in two world wars so that good faith and decency and democracy may prevail over lawlessness and arbitrary power. Since 1945 out statesmen have sought by every means in their power to settle disputes by way of negotiation. Time after time we have found ourselves impotent and frustrated, caught up in a web of words and procedures. And in the meantime the boundaries of the free world have been shrinking.

As I see what has now happened, we have been driven to the decision at last that the dangers of security based on words alone must be exposed. With our French allies, we claim the elementary right to safeguard a line of communication vital to our life. We can see no hope of safeguarding that line of communication by any other means than by our own strength and our own determination.

I ask our Canadian friends, and most of you surely are, to do two things. The first, to assess again Canada's own position in relation to the functioning of the vast structure of international commitments in which we have all involved ourselves with so much hope and with so little security and to judge our action accordingly. The second, to recall that my country did not serve the world ill when she challenged Napoleon, when she challenged the German Kaiser, when she challenged Hitler the Nazi.

Granted we are serving our own interests, yet those interests cannot basically be other than identical with those of all peace-loving states. We and France are seeking to maintain standards of international good faith, to keep open a great international highway and to prevent two implacable enemies tearing at one another's throats. We will I believe be justified by the results of our actions. We in this room are perhaps too near events to see this now. But in time others in addition to ourselves will be grateful that Britain has once again, and with courage, taken her own destiny into her own hands.

THANKS OF THE MEETING was expressed by John L. Bonus, Esq.

"INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION"

An Address by

SIDNEY A. SWENSRUD
Chairman of the Board, Gulf Oil Corporation,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Thursday, November 8th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: The attention of the world today is focused upon a perplexing number of happenings which keep our minds spinning somewhat dizzily. We reel back from the excitement of an election in the United States, we bleed inwardly from the news of Russian atrocity in Hungary and we feel ourselves shaken to the core by events in the Middle East where Britain and France gravely have undertaken a police action for which the United Nations organization is not yet prepared. This last episode is far from closed and anxiety for the safety of the Suez Canal as an international waterway remains. It has been called the jugular view of the British Commonwealth but we know that it is oil rather than blood which should flow through it.

No more appropriate moment could be devised for the visit of one of the America's top oil men as guest speaker at a meeting of the Empire Club. We welcome Mr. Sidney A. Swensrud, Chairman of the Board, Gulf Oil Corporation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania all the more warmly on this account. Mr. Swensrud started in the oil business in 1928 with The Standard Oil Company of Ohio and left that company only in May 1947 to join Gulf where he was elected President in 1948. Promotion to Chairman of the Board came in 1953. He is a Director and member of the Executive Committee of the American Petroleum Institute. We welcome Mr. Swensrud today with particular interest for yet another reason—the relatively recent news of his company's participation in the British American Oil Company Limited.

In the field of public service our guest speaker is a member of the Executive Committee, U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce. He is a Trustee of the Carnegie Institute of Technology and of the Elizabeth Steel Magee Hospital; he is a Director of the Pittsburgh Symphony Society and Chairman of the Public Auditorium Authority of Pittsburgh and Alleghany County.

We must confess that Mr. Swensrud accepted this date for his speech here some time ago. He gave us the title just two weeks ago and I wondered whether he had Moscow radio broadcasts in mind when he made his choice, such broadcasts as one reported on October 4th and I quote—"The American monopolies are striving to use Egypt's decision . . . . to oust their British and French competitors" unquote. Therefore, the timing, the topic and the great distinction of the speaker ensure the wrapt attention of those present in this room, and of those at their radio sets as I have pleasure in handing over the microphone to Mr. Sidney A. Swensrud, who has chosen to speak on the subject—"International Cooperation."

MR. SWENSRUD: I feel very honored to have been invited to appear here today before the members of this distinguished club. It occupies an enviable position in your city and country—dealing as it does in the association of people with each other and the discussion of ideas of national and international concern.

An American addressing Canadians today is faced with a somewhat delicate task. It is human nature to want to be on the best of terms with ones neighbors and friends; at the same time we in the U.S. appreciate that you may sometimes be a little suspicious of our motives when we tell you what a wonderful country we think you have with its treasure house of resources, recreational facilities and fine people. We realize that at times there may be some suspicion as to how much of your resources we are trying to acquire for our own good, rather than for yours. Well, I think I am reasonably safe in saying that no matter how complimentary or flattering we Americans are about your country there is nothing sinister about most of us, and just to make my own position clear if I can, let me begin by paying my respects to Canada for what it has *done,* not just for what it *possesses.*

In the last analysis I have no doubt that the greatest resource you have is one which is moving above ground, namely your people. The economic future of Canada, I believe, is bound to be good not simply because of the billions of dollars already expended in great developments (most of which expenditures, incidentally, have been made by your own people) but because Canadians, from their own past record have shown beyond any doubt that they have the vision, ability and determination to go forward to make Canada an even greater nation.

We in the U.S. pride ourselves on our industrial know-how and the advances we have been able to make under our capitalistic system of private enterprise (which some of us are now trying to describe more accurately and understandably as "People's Capitalism"). I can say quite honestly, however, that very few things in our country, or elsewhere, in recent years have impressed us more than the way in which Canadians, operating under the same kind of a system, have addressed themselves to the task of opening up their resources and developing new industries. We are impressed also by the way in which Canada is assuming an increasing share in the responsibility of the free nations of the world in international affairs.

I have had the opportunity and pleasure of being in your good country quite frequently over many years—sometimes on vacation trips, but also as a member of the Gulf Oil organization, I have paid quite a few visits to Western Canada during the period when our company was in the oil business out there—i.e., before we got "taken over," so far as those operations were concerned, by one of your good Canadian companies in which we are so very proud to be one of the shareholders, along with a great many Canadians.

The development of oil production and transportation in Canada since the discovery of Leduc in 1947 is a great economic sage, of significance not only for your country and ours but for the whole world. We are glad to have had the opportunity of playing a modest part in it.

For many years before Leduc, the pattern of Canadian oil supply was rather well defined and established. Apart from a small quantity of production in the Turner Valley area and in the far north, Canada was entirely dependent upon outside sources for its petroleum requirements. Eastern Canada was supplied mostly by crude imported from South America and refined at Montreal. For the Central Eastern area the predominant source was crude oil from the Mid-Continent area of the U.S. moved into the Sarnia area by pipe line or to Toledo for tanker delivery to Southern Ontario refineries. The prairie provinces were mostly supplied, with crude oil or products, by rail from Wyoming and Montana, while the Pacific Coast area was supplied with crude oil or products from California.

Canada, in that period, refined about 80% of its petroleum requirements and imported the rest as products. Exports of crude oil and products to Canada constituted a very nice piece of business, so to speak, for the U.S. Canada was our largest volume oil customer.

Then, in 1947, with the discovery of the Leduc Field, a new era of oil exploration, production and transportation began in Canada. I will not recite the history which you know well enough, but it is interesting to look at the figures over the intervening years. In 1946 Canada's crude production was 21,000 barrels daily. Today I am told that it is running about 475,000 barrels daily. This would have covered your entire oil consumption of 10 years ago approximately twice over.

In the meantime, however, the consumption of petroleum products in Canada has grown in a most phenomenal way. Ten years ago, in 1946, oil consumption in Canada averaged approximately 223,000 barrels daily. This year it is estimated at about 700,000 barrels daily or more. That represents an increase in 10 years of 214%. In the U.S. we take considerable satisfaction in the rapid rate at which our oil consumption has increased, but we cannot boast of any such figure as that. Since 1946 U.S. oil consumption has increased approximately 80% or only a little more than one-third the percentage rate at which yours has advanced.

In reviewing these figures, I could not help wondering how the relative consumption of oil per capita in the U.S. and Canada compare, and perhaps you will also be interested in the figures. Ten years ago you were using about 6.6 barrels of oil per capita per year against a comparable figure in the U.S. of 12.8 barrels. This year on the basis of a population figure of 16 million for Canada, your per capita oil consumption will average about 16.0 barrels (142% above 1946) as against a comparable figure for the U.S. of 19.5 barrels an increase of 52% since 1946. We are still a little bit ahead but you are gaining fast; it may be that the only way we will be able to keep ahead much longer will be to express your consumption in Imperial gallons and ours in U.S. gallons!

Behind these abstract figures, of course, are the things that really count in the scale of industrial development and better living — the miracles that petroleum and technology make possible in a modern world—2-½ times as many cars and trucks in Canada as 10 years ago — a quarter of a million more farm tractors — a four fold increase in the number of oil heated homes!

As for the future, well I've looked over some of the predictions of your oil experts and while I am rather inclined to agree with a friend of mine who once suggested that making economic predictions is the most gratuitous of all follies, nevertheless I am sure your experts have based their conclusions on pretty good reasoning, and they certainly are optimistic. I am reminded somewhat of the story of two southern boys who were on a sightseeing bus in Washington. As they passed the Archives Building one of them saw the inscription on it which reads, "The Past is Prologue." This puzzled him and he said to his companion, "The past is prologue? What does that mean?" His friend, who was somewhat more sophisticated, or perhaps he had been to Canada, answered, "Why that means you ain't seen nothing yet!"

I have always emphasized the importance to the oil industry of the *growth* factor in creating new opportunities and in solving what sometimes appear to be problems of over-supply or over-capacity. I think there is no doubt that in your Canadian oil picture the factor of growth will continue to be an extremely important one.

One of the most startling facts about the gain in oil use in Canada since Leduc was discovered, is that although your production of crude oil is now more than double what your total consumption was then, nevertheless the increase in production has not been quite as great as the advance in oil consumption during the ensuing years. This is but another way of emphasizing the factor of growth, but it illustrates also what a tremendous job it is to find and develop enough oil to keep up with the petroleum needs of a modern world.

As one looks at oil facts for the U.S. and Canada he may well be impressed with the similarities that now exist. In both countries we have a densely populated eastern area with most of the oil production located 1,000 to 2,000 miles westward. In the U.S. we now produce about 85% of our domestic consumption requirements. In Canada your production is now equal to about 65 to 70% of your consumption requirements and it appears probable that this ratio will increase somewhat further. In your case, as in ours, however, the rapid increase in demand makes it appear probable that you will remain a net oil importing nation for at least a considerable time ahead, if not indefinitely. For this reason, among many others, our countries have a vital interest in oil matters elsewhere in the world.

Canada is also by way of becoming a large producer, transporter, consumer and exporter of natural gas. Although for various reasons these developments were later in getting under way than in the case of oil, there now appears every reason to believe that from here on this branch of the industry, along with oil, will show a powerful growth trend.

One aspect of your oil and gas development which I know has caused much discussion in Canada is the extensive participation on the part of U.S. oil men. This was, of course, natural because oil production has been a peculiarly American business. It's early development was chiefly in the U.S. (though I appreciate that oil production in Ontario is said to have antedated the famous Drake well in Pennsylvania by a year or so). Most of the oil production in the world to date has come from the U.S.; and there are probably several dozen times as many oil men in the U.S. as in all the rest of the world put together, and they have always tended to go wherever it appeared that oil was likely to be found. So when it was discovered just across our northern border, it was inevitable that unless they were stopped American oil men would soon be there in great numbers.

From Canada's standpoint was this extensive participation on the part of Americans desirable? If we assume that there was an advantage to Canada, as I believe there was, in getting this vast effort under way more rapidly, then I believe it was in your interest to have a large number of U.S. oil men assist in this development with their experience, trained personnel and equipment, together with those indispensable factors of capital and the willingness to risk it in an uncertain enterprise. A friend of mine once characterized resources in the ground, undiscovered and undeveloped, as "neuter stuff." It takes a vast amount of effort, knowledge and venture capital to turn such neutral stuff into positive and useful assets. I have no doubt that Canadians could have done this job by themselves, but it would have taken much longer and I feel certain that the acceleration of oil development in Canada has played an important part in the great contemporary strides that have been made in all phases of your development.

Another reason for welcoming assistance is the fact that today many of the tasks in the oil and gas industry are so huge that no single company, no matter how large it may be, is inclined to undertake them by itself. Most of the great oil concessions in the Middle East, for example, are owned not by one company but by two or more. Many of the recent pipe line projects in the U.S. are undertaken jointly by several companies. The same is true of various developments in Venezuela and in the off-shore areas of the Gulf of Mexico. In the case of Canada, it was not alone the great tasks of oil and gas development, per se, that were important; the building of pipe lines was equally so, and this required the joint efforts of various U.S. and Canadian concerns. One cannot exaggerate the importance in our industry of efficient transportation in making it possible for the remote producer and royalty owner to obtain the highest possible price at the source while at the same time keeping down the delivered cost of petroleum products to the consumer. Through the joint efforts of our two countries, Canada now has petroleum transportation facilities which are among the most modern and efficient in the world.

But regardless of how much Canada may have benefitted by U.S. participation, it is understandable that Canadians should want the maximum opportunity, both personnel-wise and investment-wise, participation in the new developments which their own resources of manpower, experience and capital make possible.

There are various ways, of course, by which these objectives can be achieved. The experience of our company, we believe, affords one pertinent example. Our company, The Gulf Oil Corporation, through a subsidiary, the Canadian Gulf Oil Company, had commenced its exploratory efforts in Alberta many years ago—in fact long before Leduc was discovered. In the course of the years Canadian Gulf had become a thriving exploration and producing organization, headquartering in Calgary, with operations throughout the prairie provinces and into the Northwest Territories. It had been our policy to get Canadians into our organization wherever we could. Under this policy the percentage of Canadian employees had grown steadily until early this year it had reached 95%, with Americans down to not more than 5%. Thus, personnel-wise, Canadian Gulf was already primarily a Canadian organization and it had, we felt, contributed materially to the development of Canada's crude oil and natural gas resources. Nevertheless, it was still a wholly-owned subsidiary of a U.S. company, and no Canadian investor could share directly in its ownership or in whatever success it might achieve as the years went on.

Meanwhile, the British American Oil Company, in which we owned approximately a 25% interest, was anxious to acquire additional producing properties in Canada to strengthen its reserves in relation to its well established manufacturing and marketing position. It presented us with a proposal by which Canadians, whenever they chose, could share in our already profitable development of oil resources in Western Canada, in exchange for our receiving an additional 34% interest in B-A. The arrangement was considered beneficial to both sides. But, in a larger sense, we are pleased that it has greatly facilitated the participation by Canadians in important ventures in your own country, which would not otherwise have been possible. What we did, in effect, was to help make a 50 year old Canadian company with a fine record, even stronger (and our own interest correspondingly so) by accenting the Canadian framework for the integration of production with refining and marketing facilities in a way which not only benefits both companies but makes it possible for Canadians to invest further in what, I know you will agree with me, is one of the finest of the many good Canadian oil companies. We believe that, considering the basic like-mindedness of Canadian and American oil people and investors, and the common philosophy of economic freedom which guides us both, this was a good pattern in the particular case.

But what about the idea of American oil men, independents included, helping to develop oil in Canada in a way which not only tends to reduce our oil exports to Canada but actually has resulted in Canadian oil being imported into the U.S.? Some people might ask if that were not poor business on our part. From this point of view perhaps we should have passed a law forbidding Americans to look for oil in Canada! But the answer is that it has not worked to our disadvantage. In the first place, of course, American oil men hope to make a profit out of their ventures and on the whole, they probably will. As for the loss of export trade, well it so happened that the U.S. was becoming a net oil importer anyway, so the loss of an export market was not too serious, even to the oil industry. But more than this, the relief which

Canada obtained in its dollar position from having oil production of its own, was a tremendous boon to its whole economy with advantages to us as well.

In the course of its advance Canada's foreign trade has also greatly increased. It is now one of the largest trading nations in the world. No country, I think, has benefitted more from this than the U.S. In the past ten years your imports from our country have increased almost 300%; your purchases from the U.S. are greater than from any other area or, in fact, from all other areas combined. On the other side of the ledger Canada also, of course, has a large export business to the U.S. Not only are you *our* best customer but we are by far your best customer. Just as you buy more things from us than from all other areas combined, so too your exports to the U.S. exceed those to all other countries combined.

I have long been a staunch believer in the benefits to the free world of liberal trade policies, and I believe the increasing trade between our countries is an excellent example of such benefits. One of the difficult things for people to understand about foreign trade is that it must be looked at from an overall standpoint and not just on the basis of one particular situation. To the extent, for example, that Canada saved and gained dollars from having oil production of its own and also from exporting some oil to the U.S. it has had relatively more dollars to spend on other items, and the U.S. as a whole has greatly benefitted therefrom, as indicated by the figures I have already quoted as to your increased purchases from us.

There are some other things which I think our participation in your oil development illustrate. One is the importance of confidence in business dealings and in the ability to rely on the carrying out of business agreements. From the time one starts looking for oil until he begins ringing up profits in the cash register, is a long period indeed. I have been told that Americans have put more than a billion dollars into Canadian oil production. This could only be done where there is a strong element of confidence. Particularly is this a factor when one is dealing with governments, as anyone engaging in oil exploration and production in Canada must do to a considerable extent, since the Provinces own so much of the mineral rights.

This brings up special questions for, although our whole economic system depends upon the ability to rely upon business agreements being kept, the sovereign governments of some countries have taken the position that they have the right to cancel or repudiate business agreements previously entered into with private parties. The most recent example of this is the Suez dispute in which the Government of Egypt broke a business contract it had made with the old Suez Canal Company without warning and with force—a contract which still had 12 years to run.

I am not here raising the question of what international law on this subject is, or was, although I think it is clear that international law, like other law, must evolve and develop out of the needs of the people. And certainly, if international cooperation is to advance, particularly if the capital needs of underdeveloped areas are to be met, then business agreements entered into by sovereign governments with private parties must be lived up to just as faithfully as if they were between private parties and there will have to be a change in the concept which holds that sovereign governments, like minors, cannot make binding agreements. Under English Law I have heard it is said that so far as his strictly legal right is concerned the sovereign can arbitrarily cut off your head if he wants to, but that, in fact, he never does. In other words, regardless of what the law technically may be said to be, it is the force of custom and the willingness of sovereigns along with private parties to act responsibly in their dealings that determine the course of progress and define what the law really is in practice. Obviously it was in the confidence that their heads would not be cut off (or their property taken over) that American oil men felt safe in entering into business agreements and risking their capital in Canada.

I mention this not so much as tribute to your system, for that is what we would expect in your country just as we would in our own. I mention it, rather, because I believe both the U.S. and Canada have a deep interest in this matter as it relates to other parts of the world. We are joined together in a common effort to promote peace and economic development throughout the free world and this can occur only where there is a climate of respect for obligations and confidence in the integrity of governments. This is of particular significance in relation to oil, because oil has become one of the great sinews of both war and peace; and we cannot ignore the importance of an adequate supply of it, not only for ourselves but for the whole of the free world—particularly our allies in Western Europe whose economic future and defense are so intimately linked to oil from the Middle East. Your distinguished Secretary of State for external affairs, The Honourable L. B. Pearson, speaking last May in Montreal said:

> "Any matter which affects substantially the well being of the United Kingdom and Western Europe is a matter of direct importance to the U.S. and Canada. That well being is largely dependent upon oil from the Middle East. Europe now gets 70% and may soon get 90% of its oil requirements from the Middle East. The blunt fact is that the United Kingdom and Western Europe are largely dependent on oil from the Middle East for their industrial life and for any advances in their standards of living . . . nor is this a temporary condition, for since coal production cannot apparently be greatly increased, oil from the Middle East must continue to fill the energy gap."

In a similar vein President Eisenhower recently said:

> "As you know, all of Western Europe has gradually gone to oil instead of coal for its energy and that oil comes from the Mid-East. The region is of great —as a matter of fact, it is of extraordinary—importance to all the free world. . . ."

We are in the midst of great difficulties in certain parts of the Middle East at the present time and yet I am optimistic that much good can ultimately emerge from the situation. In the first place, I believe the events have deepened our understanding of the importance of the Middle East to the Free World and the urgent need of finding solutions to some of its disurbing problems. In the second place, perhaps we can hope that out of the Suez crisis will emerge some further advance in the concepts of international law, and the minimum acceptable standards of international conduct on the part of governments in economic as well as political affairs, which in the long run will not only fortify the legitimate interests of the Free World but help to establish conditions which will permit further economic advances in underdeveloped areas.

In encouraging such results, and in furnishing evidence of the benefits that can come from international cooperation, good will and responsible governments, I can think of no better example than the relations which have existed between Canada and the U.S.—in the fruitful development of your great oil resources, and in every other way.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, First Vice-President of the Club.

"CANADA'S BIG LEAGUE THEATRE"

An Address by

TOM PATTERSON
Director of Planning, Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Stratford, Ontario

Thursday, November 15th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, First Vice-President.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Since the names *Tom Patterson* and *Stratford Shakespearean Festival* are *synonymous* it is difficult to think of either of them *separately. Today* that is neither *necessary* nor *desirable* as we are so fortunate as to have Mr. Patterson *here* to *tell us about the Festival.*

With so much of our attention rivetted on the international scene, it should be refreshing to be diverted for a while to the serious consideration of an artistic development which has assumed such national importance that it warrants our interest and concentrated attention.

As I have just said, Mr. Patterson will *tell us about the Festival,* but now I would like to *tell you something about him.*

He is a native of Stratford, Ontario, having first seen the light of day there towards the end of the first quarter of the 20th Century. His education was interrupted by World War II during which he served, *here and abroad,* with the Canadian Army from 1939 to 1945.

On returning to civil life he completed his education at the University of Toronto and graduated as a B.A. Embarking on a business career in the export and import field, he again saw something of the European scene before transferring his attention to the publishing business as a staff member of Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company Limited *here* on the inception of the periodical "*Civic Administration*". Starting as Editorial Assistant, he was Associate Editor when he left to set up and plan the first year of the Stratford Festival.

From here on his story is *his to tell* under the heading "Canada's Big League Theatre".

I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Harry Thomas Patterson, B.A., Director of Planning of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Foundation of Canada; *a man who has seen a dream come true.*

MR. PATTERSON: From looking at this audience, I know that there is very little need for me to go into the history of the Stratford Festival. Most of you have been there and have already taken a vital interest in it since its inception.

However, I would like to point out some rather startling parallels with another major artistic accommplishment which is very much in our minds today—The Report on the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences—more commonly known as the Massey Report.

Let me read a few paragraphs from the recommendations of that report. On Page 199 it states: "To many people the words 'National Theatre' mean a building, probably in Ottawa; but unless such a building is a centre from which travelling companies go on tours throughout the length and breadth of Canada it would be a foolish extravagance. If the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre (England) we were told, could be transplanted bodily from Stratford-on-Avon to Ottawa-on-the-Rideau, with all its equipment, we would still be without a National Theatre. But if we can develop even one company, acting in a tent or in school halls, which can move Canadians to tears and laughter with the great plays of the past and with the great plays of the present, including perhaps a few of their own, we have the heart of a National Theatre."

As you will recall, this report was published in 1951. At that time, there was very little hope of establishing such a theatre as was recommended. In fact, to quote the report again, "There is no National Theatre in Canada and nothing at present to indicate that there will be one." That was said only five years ago.

Certainly Stratford does not consider itself a National Theatre. There are still many things to do before that position can be reached by us or anybody else. But I do think you will agree that many of the requirements have already been fulfilled.

First of all, we have acted in a tent! And the fact that we are now building a permanent theatre does not indicate in the slightest that we are in disagreement with the Massey Report!

I think it is safe to say that we have moved many Canadians to tears and laughter; we are presenting the great plays of the past. We have not presented any plays of the present, but I do feel that the success of Stratford has encouraged others to do these more modern plays.

We, as Canadians have moved quite far along the paths suggested by the Massey Commission. And yet, in 1951, according to all indications and to the people who were in a position to know, there was nothing to indicate this remarkable development.

How then has it come about? How is it that in so short a time, we have built up a theatre with an international reputation; have touring and repertory companies throughout the country; have the beginnings of a drama school with a potentially international reputation?

To find the complete answer is perhaps impossible. But we can at least find some of the reasons. First of all, we must thank C.B.C. for the wonderful, and sometimes unrewarding work they have done in developing talent. No such movement in theatre could have been possible without this pool of very well-trained actors and actresses.

But then they existed before, so that cannot be a reason for this sudden blossoming. No, I think the answer is to be found much deeper than that.

As many of you people know from experience, Canada has just recently emerged from the bread and butter era of its growth. Even just before the last war, Canadians were still much more concerned with earning their daily wage, with the challenging task of building the country—the roads, the mines and the development of natural resources.

By the end of the war, the whole economic development of the country had changed. We were no longer worried about our bread and butter. In fact, if anything, we were worried about having too much of it—but no cake to go along and make a slightly better repast. Along with this change in our economics, came a change in our way of life. Many of our people had seen theatre and the other arts during their war-time service; the number of leisure hours was increasing continually. In every way, new forces were at work.

New forces were at work and people, perhaps unconsciously, were not willing to carry on with the pre-war way of life. They wanted something they were not being given by the Hollywood movies—something to give them some of the answers they were looking for.

That, in my opinion, is the main reason for the initial success of Stratford.

But if new forces were at work in 1945, they are even more so at work now—eleven years later. And these new forces are undermining the complacency which was a natural aftermath of the war. Because of this, there has been an even greater search for the answers. And because the answers can best be found by studying the old masters—we have automatically looked to the places where those masters can be found—the arts.

I think we are on an even greater threshold of artistic development in Canada.

There is one major difference, however, between this renaissance and any other that has taken place in history. In the past, we usually find that the arts have flourished in a period when material wealth, either individually or nationally, has been at a low ebb.

This perhaps proved a point—that, when necessary, the mind, can feed the body.

But today, we are in a situation where, perhaps for the first time, the body is better fed than it ever has been before—at least on this continent. And what happens? We are finding the arts an even more important part of our way of life.

Perhaps it is the attempt of man to furnish himself with the human values which transcend the overwhelming mass of scientific and technical data that we are being bombarded with every day of our lives.

We find, for instance, great industrialists, financiers, manufacturers—all practical men—devoting more and more time and money to buying paintings, serving on ballet, music and drama committees.

And here, I would like to disagree violently with the attitude of many people connected with the arts. The other day, I was reading a report of a conference which took place in the United States. A well-known poet and professor at a famous University had this to say: "I question the sincerity of the industrialists in their new concern for the humanities on the ground that industrialists themselves have been mainly responsible for creating the monster that threatens to destroy the humanities."

This crying on somebody's shoulder, putting the blame on somebody else and begging for help—is all too prevalent amongst artists. Certainly, many of the arts and humanities need help—and I am here to say that the industrialists and the financier are amongst the first to realize this and to respond to the call. But they do not, in my opinion consider this as charity. And too often the case is presented as just that—a charity, rather than a practical need to the community.

And while I am at it, I would like to take another crack at us so-called artistic people. In the same report as mentioned before, one of the questions under consideration was "How may the culturally restrictive tendencies of the national emphasis in American studies be effectively reconciled with that international outlook and concern demanded by modern advances in trade, industry, technology and human relations."

That's a pretty weighty topic! It took me quite a while to find out what it really means and finally, I found the Key Word "reconcile". When broken down and using the Key Word, one finds that an English translation of this title is "How can we best impress the guys that have the dough".

But seriously, until people in the humanities stop treating their subject as something that has to be made mysterious, academic and above the common mass, and bring it into the field of a practical every-day need in the community, the fulfillment of which can be exciting, they will continue to be the poverty stricken portion of society.

I think our experience in Stratford proves this point. Even before the Festival started, we never claimed that it would make money, but we did sell the idea on the need for theatre in Canada—and made the fulfillment of that need an exciting prospect—an excitement which was infectious and caught up not only the people who were directly concerned—the actors, actresses and those connected with the arts—but to the business man, the banker, the janitor and even the student!!

You might say—Oh! yes—it is easy to make this exciting—but what about being practical? Well in the first part of your question, you would be perfectly right—It is easy to make a major artistic event exciting. And on the surface it is much more difficult to prove it "practical".

We can look at it first of all from the hard dollars and cents point of view—Lets compare the producing of a show to the bringing in of an oil well. The producer is convinced that he has a hit—just as the miner in convinced he has a strike. They both spend considerable amounts of money before they are really in operation. Then comes the great day when returns start. If X number of people come to the show, it makes money. If X barrels of oil are mined, the mine makes money. Basically, it is as simple as that. However, there are other factors to take into consideration, and I'm afraid that here the comparison breaks down. First of all, the miner, with his instruments, can predict much more accurately than the producer of the show and, therefore, his gamble —and that of his backers, is not so great.

But the producer of a show has other advantages to offer—long term admittedly—but to a good business man and a good citizen, every bit as rewarding.

First, lets look at the advantages to the individual. A production like the Stratford Festival has proved to be more than just entertainment to the many thousands of people who have attended. More and more we are finding that a visit to the Festival is becoming part of people's holiday. In other words, they are forsaking the lakes and resorts, for a time at least, in favour of theatre.

So the arts can provide a desired form of recreation for our people. This is surely a practical benefit—especially with the increase in automation, which, as with any advantage, has certain disadvantages.

It is really a question of "balancing" our lives. The tempo we live ın today demands that we have some form of relaxation and of intellectual exercise to balance against the mechanical way of life we are leading. Just as in wartime it was recognized by governments and individuals that the troops—whose whole life was taken up with the very practical matter of just existing—needed entertainment—and lets face it, art in its broadest sense is entertainment.

Now we, as civilians, living under stresses which have never been greater, need the same kind of stimulus and relaxation. The artist can give this, only providing he is recognized as a necessary part of society.

Theatre as with all the arts, can provide an opportunity for the 20th Century citizen to relax his body and obtain the food that is needed every bit as much as bread —the food that feeds the mind.

Now lets look at theatre from a National point of view —and here again, we have some very practical values.

First of all, it gives employment to a large number of Canadians and this number is considerably larger than the layman suspects. As well as the actors, there are stage hands, musicians, wardrobe and property people, designers, ushers, publicity people and many others. It sometimes comes as a shock to people when they are told that the payroll in Stratford at the height of the season consists of from 150 to 200 people.

Then there is the tourist business—again using Stratford as an example—we have had chartered buses from as far away as Texas—Special trains from Detroit, Quebec City, and the weekly tours sponsored by the Toronto *Telegram*. In its four years—or a total of 35 performance weeks—Stratford has played to about half a million people—of which about 20% or 100,000 have been foreign visitors. Calculating the expenditure of each person at the very low amount of $25—Think what this has meant in extra money in the country.

Another value to the country—non-material perhaps, but nevertheless important—the success of the Festival has given Canadians a sense of pride in something which heretofore we have felt rather ashamed. We had to go to New York or London to see the best in the arts. Now, we can see the best right here. And this sense of pride, in the community and the country is very important to the development of a well-balanced population.

Last year, the Festival made another contribution to Canadian life when it invited French-Canadian actors to participate. This move has been hailed as one which has done more to promote better understanding between the two major racial groups of Canada than anything else since Confederation.

To quote the *Financial Post*: "Here is an example of the real mingling and inter-twining of the country's two cultures . . . No country but Canada is able, or has even tried before, to present *Henry V* just this way".

Tyrone Guthrie was the first to realize another value of the Festival. And although I am using the Festival as an example in all these cases, other forms of art have the same potential.

But Tyrone Guthrie, the man who is responsible for the great artistic success of the Festival, was the first to realize the force that such a project could be in the field of international affairs.

In a letter to Alex Guinness outlining his feelings on the whole idea, Dr. Guthrie said: "Canada is likely in a few years to be the richest and most powerful country in the world. There is a great sentimental urge in Canada to be influenced by Britain. There is a great practical urge to be influenced by the U.S.A. Almost every common sense argument based upon geography and economics drives Canada and U.S.A. into each others arms.

"If we the British are as stupid, as tactless and as apathetic about this as we look like being, it is just going to be George III and the Boston Tea Party all over again, with disastrous results all round.

"We, you and I, have a chance in this project to make an exceedingly conspicuous, and therefore potentially useful gesture in favour of Anglo-Canadian relationships.

"I have never before felt so convinced of the obvious practical value of anything I have been asked to be connected with."

This, gentlemen, was said late in 1952. How right Dr. Guthrie was. Even after the first year, after only six weeks of operation, the Stratford Festival had created such interest in Britain that Sir Shuldham Redfern, writing in the *Montreal Star,* said: "No other event since the war has done so much to enhance Anglo-Canadian friendship".

Since that time think what further has been done along these same lines. The NFB film THE STRATFORD ADVENTURE has been shown all over the world and has won awards at international film festivals. Another film, our production of *Oedipus Rex*, has also been made and was accepted by both the Edinburgh and Venice Film Festivals. Although this film has not been shown publicly yet, it will be opening soon, and from the reaction of the professionals who have seen it, I predict it will bring further laurels to Canada.

And then, of course, there is our major safari into the international world—the recent visit to Edinburgh. And here, I would like to thank again the *Toronto Star* who were so generous in making this trip possible by flying the entire company to Scotland and back.

But Edinburgh was quite a shock, I think, to the English theatre. For the first time, a Commonwealth company was appearing on one of the major stages of Europe —and it was a country which up until now had never produced anything startling in the way of the arts in general and especially of theatre.

But the audience reaction as well as much of the critical reaction was most enthusiastic. And the critics came, I think, with the idea that they would have to be rather kind to this Canadian effort. But by the time the performance was over, they were all convinced that here was a major development in theatre and that it would have to be treated the same as a top-scale production from any country.

As a result of this reaction, Canada's prestige was increased in a field in which she was otherwise unknown.

Nor can this theatrical diplomacy only be applied to England. As far-seeing as Tyrone Guthrie's letter to Alec Guinness was, I don't think it went far enough. The Stratford Festival, along with the National Ballet, Canadian Players and many of our musicians, has done much to enhance Canadian reputation south of the border.

Opening night at Stratford is just as important to theatrical critics and newspapers as is an opening on Broadway. And again, the stories go out in such revered papers as *The Christian Science Monitor,* the *New York Times,* the *Herald Tribune, Chicago Daily Tribune* and many others. All these stories are selling Canada and changing her reputation as a country which produces nothing but wheat, oil, uranium, etc. to a country which is not only wealthy in the material things, but is mature in what are commonly called the finer things of life.

We all know of the great critical success the National Ballet has had in the U.S. Here again, Canada is being sold and people are being made to realize that our country is more than a land of ice and snow.

Just last week the Canadian Players appeared in the Library of Congress auditorium in Washington. The reaction to their performance was so enthusiastic that it prompted Mr. R. A. Farquharson, of the Canadian Embassy to write in a memorandum to all Canadian representatives in the U.S.A. that

> "A show which can go on a bus and which can receive warm reviews from good critics is a new way to advertise Canada in the U.S. . . . They have perhaps developed a pocket sized theatre that Canada might export to other countries."

But so far I have only been talking about what theatre —and the other arts—have already done for us.

"What of the future?

As was announced some time ago, the Stratford Festival has entered into an agreement with Mr. Leonid Kipnis, producer of the film version of *Oedipus Rex* to do the entire Folio of Shakespeare on film. Again, Dr. Guthrie is in at the beginning and has been made Artistic Director of the new film company and I, with the full consent of the Festival Governors, am another director of the company.

But here in Canada—and with a Canadian company—we are able to do something in the artistic field which has never been attempted before. Because of the lack of tradition here, we are able to make moves which are impossible in most other countries. And the most important of these at the moment, is to make a marriage between the film and the stage. This can create a whole new field of development in film-making techniques; it can offer stage actors much more chance of steady employment; and it can produce a quality of film for which Canada can become known throughout the world.

Again, these films, along with increased activity abroad by our stage companies, will further enhance Canada's reputation.

The permanent theatre which is now being built in Stratford is another example of how Canada can offer the world something new. Even before it has been built, we are receiving requests for technical information, pictures and theatrical data from Europe and the U.S.A. When it is completed, it will be hailed as one of the first new advances in theatrical construction since before the turn of the century.

The French-Canadian participation in Stratford can be increased—and I hope will be over the next few years. With a welding of our two great cultures, we can perhaps develop something that is even more typically Canadian than anything we have now.

Other forms of art have to grow in the same way, the same exciting way, as theatre has done in Canada. Musically, Stratford has had great critical success and our Canadian musicians are now establishing themselves on the stages of the world. The recent acclaim given to Miss

Maureen Forrister in New York is just another indication of the great wealth of talent we have in this country.

But as you know, just as no business can stand still, so the theatre and the arts must keep developing. What can we do to keep up the momentum of this birth of the arts in our country.

Firstly, and I think this most important, we must take an interest in what is going on. Admittedly, very few of us can make a full-time job out of this, but for the business man there is nothing better than a vital interest in some form of artistic activity. I can honestly say about our own Board of Governors that they have found their work with the Festival to be not only relaxing, but stimulating to the mind in a way in which the mind is not otherwise exercised.

Also, like any successful business, theatre needs good management. And if it is to be successful, it needs the experience of people fully conversant with business practice.

The arts need initial financial support. I think one of the most encouraging things to the artists of Canada at the moment is the recognition given them by the announcement this week of Prime Minister Louis Saint Laurent concerning the formation of the long-awaited Canada Council. Needless to say, this is going to give the necessary shot in the arm to many worthwhile projects—-which up until now have been on the verge of bankruptcy for so long that it has become a natural state.

But this does not, in my opinion, release the individual and the corporations from doing their share in the development of the arts. If it is all left to the government, or to the Canada Council, the impetus which has already been established will soon be lost. The arts are essentially an individual thing—and they require individual attention not only on the part of the artist, but on the part of management and patronage.

In closing, I would like to read you three short comments from major publications which I think will sum up the importance placed upon the Festival outside of Canada. First from Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times*. He says: "The Stratford Festival as an institution is a contribution to the cultural life of North America. For every one now recognizes that the Stratford Festival is a sound enterprise." And from *The Times* of London, England, we read: "It would be a tragedy for Canadian art as a whole if the fate of the Ontario Stratford, with all its means to the future, were left to chance." And finally, in reviewing the Festival's performance of *Henry V, Le Monde* of Paris said: "For the first time in our experience, the performance of the French parts in *Henry V* was not a parody."

These are comments from outside. I am very pleased to say, that the Stratford Festival is not one of those ventures which is appreciated only by foreigners. Herbert Whittaker of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* headed his article covering the first opening night of Stratford "The greatest night in Canadian theatre". I think he was not only reflecting the thoughts of all those who had the pleasure of attending that opening night, but the thoughts of all those interested in theatre throughout the country.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt.-Col. N. D. Hogg.

"BACK FROM RUSSIA"

An Address by

RONALD A. McEACHERN, B.A., Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief,
The Financial Post, Toronto, Ont.

Thursday, November 22nd, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: Distinguished guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada.

We welcome as our speaker today a distinguished Canadian whom we are fortunate to have right in our midst in the City of Toronto. Here is one Canadian educated at the University of Toronto who has decided to make his home in Canada rather than being lured away by opportunities south of the border. I am not suggesting that he is unique in this respect, but he has the ability, experience and background which would be invaluable in Journalism or Economics anywhere in the English-speaking world.

Ronald Alexander McEachern continued his education at the University of Toronto after obtaining his B.A. degree and became a Doctor of Philosophy in 1934. A long interlude which covered most of 1932 must have had a profound effect on his outlook and his tastes because in that period he studied language and music in Munich, Germany. The love of music took practical form during his under-graduate and post-graduate years when he was a Church Organist and Choir Master, and for some years he was Chapel Organist at Knox College. For a period of three years Mr. McEachern was a reporter on the *Toronto Star* and a radio news commentator, and it is interesting to recall that he was one of the radio people whose name became a household word through round-the-clock reports to listeners direct from the Moose River mine disaster in Nova Scotia.

It was about 1937 that he took two steps which were destined to be decisive in his career. First he married a Toronto girl and then he joined the *Financial Post*. Next year, Mr. McEachern will have completed 20 years with the *Post* and of those years he will have spent 15 years as Editor. For our speaker, business journalism is the most personal kind of journalism and it is perhaps due to this that the *Financial Post* can be read with interest and enjoyment by the housewife just as well as the man of the house.

Mr. McEachern is also the author of a best selling book entitled "Putting Your Dollars to Work", which describes in easily understood language how our economic system works.

Mr. McEachern has chosen as his title today "Back from Russia". Few of us have visited Russia so that virtually all of us rely upon reports of other people's visits to form their opinions and it is, therefore, with much pleasure that I call upon Mr. Ronald Alexander McEachern, Ph.D. to speak to us on the subject "Back from Russia".

MR. McEACHERN: A short visit to a few centres in Russia is obviously no adequate equipment for pontificating about this remarkable land. No secrets of the Kremlin were opened to me. No one who does not speak Russian is going to get very far at penetrating the mind of Soviet officials or of ordinary Soviet citizens.

So here I am going to tell, very modestly, a travel story, —an account of what I saw, of what people said, of what I learned. No funny stories. Let's get ahead with the trip.

For years I have, of course been reading much about Russia. But I was nevertheless ill prepared for a visit. I was too often surprised by what I saw. The torrent of propaganda from both the right and of the left has for the most part conveyed a highly inaccurate picture.

Russia is not a workers paradise nor a Communist utopia. Neither is it a land made up solely of ridiculous boobs and ignorant stumble-bums, nor are its claims to dramatic progress merely boastful nonsense.

To underestimate the sweep and magnitude of the Soviet development is a dangerous delusion. It will greatly help the cause of human survival on this crowded planet if more people from the west see Russia with their own eyes and if more Russians see our civilization.

How did I come to go to Russia?

A group of American corporation executives had said, in effect, how about a bunch of us going to Russia? That idea set in motion, they said, how about asking some Canadians to join the party? So our purely informal group, representing nobody but ourselves, finally comprised eight Canadians and about 45 Americans.

Why did this happen in 1956 instead of 1955 or 1954?

Because, for the first time since the war, Russian doors are open. Ever since the war, Russia has lived in strict isolation. Hardly anybody but a communist or a government official got permission to go there.

Since the death of Stalin, one of the changes is the opening of the doors—even to dirty capitalists. Here's an indication of the change. In 1955, only 12,000 foreigners were given permission to visit Russia—and most of those were Communists from other countries. This year foreign visitors will number about 60,000. For the year 1958 Russia is preparing for 400,000 foreign visitors.

The communist world now covers one quarter of the earth's surface. The Soviet has 200 million people. About 58% of them are Russians, the rest are made up of 50 different nationalities speaking more than 80 different languages. The population of the satellites is around 730 millions.

All in all, about one third of the world's people bow to Moscow.

We flew from New York to Copenhagen, then had another six hours flying time to Riga and Moscow. A Russian navigated our aircraft over Soviet soil to make sure we stayed in the narrow pathway assigned to foreign craft.

All foreign visitors are looked after by Intourist, the government travel corporation. We were supplied with hotel rooms and a book of tickets good for four meals a day at any Moscow's leading hotels. We were supplied with interpreters who were available to us from breakfast until bed-time.

Are the Intourist guides in fact a police force supervising and spying on foreigners. Well, your guide knows where you are most of the time.

However when I wanted to go off on my own and walk or ride around, I had complete liberty to do so. I was never aware of being followed.

I asked one Soviet official about regrets that I would be permitted to see only certain things and to go only certain places.

This was his reply. "Yes" he said "we have some military things you can't see. Such restrictions apply in your country too. But travel elsewhere in the Soviet is determined not by security considerations but where we have suitable facilities for looking after you. Large areas in Russia have no accommodation suitable to westerners.

"But we are building hotels in far places and as soon as they are ready we invite you to go. We want tourists. We have a great deal we are proud to show you."

How was the food? Good, but by the standards of a healthy Canadian stomach there was too much of it. Breakfast and noon meals are very large. There is a sturdy meal called tea at five. At ten or eleven at night, the Russian gives himself another big wallop of food which he calls supper.

How about taking photographs? This was formerly very restricted, not just for foreigners but for Russians too. On my travels I was allowed to photograph anything I saw—including the cabinet room inside the Kremlin.

Moscow has its historic roots deep in the past History records a fortress community at this site on the banks of the Moscow River in the early eleven hundreds.

Moscow now has nearly seven million people and tens of thousands a year more are swarming in from the country to take jobs in the factories. The justly famous subway system, opened in 1935 and constantly being extended, now has close to 90 miles of underground tubes and there are currently about 41 different stations. We have all heard that the Moscow underground was spectacular and wonderful. You have to see it to believe just how superb it is. Each station is done in a different style using different types of marble from different parts of the country. The whole underground world is clean, shiny and spotless—far cleaner than Toronto and far, far cleaner than New York. The Moscow subway collects about 2½ million fares a day.

The visitor's first impression of Moscow is of the incredibly wide streets. About twice the width of University Avenue is typical for main streets.

Modern Moscow is blessed because it once had a disaster. Ancient Moscow grew up a city of wooden structures, sprawling out from the flat banks of the river, a tangle of narrow twisted streets. In 1812 along came Napoleon. Moscow caught fire and the whole wooden city was destroyed. Only the stone palaces and churches survived.

In its rebuilding, Moscow was able to start anew—to do what all cities would like to do. Hence—Moscow's marvellous system of thoroughfares, its magnificent squares and plazas, and the fact that the buildings lining the main streets look pretty much like 19th century Paris.

Moscow certainly has no traffic jams. By our standards, Moscow streets have little motor traffic. But don't think that Russia is a land of no motor cars. There are a lot of them—many more than I had been led to expect. The cars are Russian built last year total automobile and truck production was 445,000. The U.S. figure was about 18 times that. There is a small car that looks like a 1940 Ford. There's a medium car like a 1948 Buick and a third car available to officials only, which is expensive, luxurious and looks like a 1948 Packard. These are called the Zis. For Zis there are no stop signs. As these cars approach intersections, traffic policemen always give them the Go sign. This is just one of the many evidences in Russia of class or caste. With power and position goes much privilege.

To our eyes the Muscovites are not a good looking race of people. They are squat, square, chunky.

It is astonishing how dangerous and sinister almost all Russian men look, wearing a heavy black overcoat with enormously exaggerated shoulder padding and a black hat pulled down over their eyes. Almost every Russian man looks like the Hollywood idea of a dangerous secret policeman.

It is quite astonishing too how unpleasant the Russian women look with their dumpy shapes and their poor hair and their chubby faces. Put the wretched Russian clothes on these women and you have a simply awful mess.

By our standards Russian stores are drab, inconvenient and the merchandise is unattractive in appearance. The Russian store is not a mechanism for whetting desire and stimulating wants. It is merely a commissary for the supplying of minimum needs.

The typical Russian store is full of line-ups—line-ups to get to the one or two clerks selling stockings or overcoats, shoes, or something else. There is little opportunity to examine the merchandise and little choice. I watched a couple of people buy men's winter overcoats. After a long wait in the line-up a woman finally got to the salesgirl. The shape and size of the husband was described. The salesgirl came back with two types of coat. She put them on and pirouetted around like a model. The coat was bought. The same thing happened to a man next in line. He didn't get a chance to try on the coat. He just took a guess that it might do. Buying shoes, however, you do get a chance to try on a few pairs.

Shopping in Russia then is merely the getting of something you must have in much the same way as a soldier goes to quartermaster stores for a new uniform or a pair of shoes.

I was into the heart of the Kremlin—the chief cabinet room—for an interview with Ivanovich Mikoyan, the deputy premier and minister of trade. He has been one of the top dogs of the Soviet goverment for a quarter of a century. He's a short graying Armenian with real charm and warmth.

Mikoyan told about the present Russian emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry, the development of great, new cities, the opening up of new raw material sourses, the harnessing of hydropower. Then he said, "Our people all get enough to eat. They get enough to wear. They aren't dressed up French or American fashion but they are adequately and warmly clothed. Nobody needs to be cold or ragged. The only thing they are really short of is housing and that we are trying to fix." This gibes with what I saw.

Everywhere we saw an orgy of home building and this is abundantly confirmed by Russian statistics on the matter.

Gigantic apartment houses are the typical setup. Moscow is bulging out into the suburbs in every direction with these 7 and 9 storey apartment buildings. New subway lines are following the growth into the outskirts.

Figures which the Russians publish about the rate of new housing which is being developed are indeed impressive by any standards.

Yes, the Moscow area has slums—shack areas of wooden huts and outdoor privies and a pump on the corner as the only source of water. But Moscow isn't nearly such a slummy place as I had been led to expect.

The man in one of these shacks may be a factory worker, the man in the next an important singer at the opera. Where you live depends on where you stand on the list of apartment applicants at the housing centre in your area. As Mikoyan emphasized, slums and terrific overcrowding and the vast migration of country people to the cities are the main current problems.

You can own your own home. A few people own their own homes in the country. In a big city like Moscow they may own their own apartment in a co-operative apartment building. If you save up a 30% down payment you can borrow the rest of the money at 3% from one of the banks. When you die you can leave the house or the apartment you own to your son or to whoever you name in your will. But the vast majority of Russian people live in state-owned apartments. Factory workers usually live in apartments built near to and operated by the factory in which they work.

In cities of western Russia it is typical for two or three or four people to live and sleep in one room plus a kitchen-dining room. Inside their apartment they will have a wash basin. They will likely share a toilet down the hall with other people in the apartment building. When they want to bath they go to a central bath house.

But by our standards rents are very low. At one big factory I visited, workers were assigned apartments according to the size of their families and their rent was only 4% of their wages.

There is no good way of precisely measuring differences in the standard of living between our country and Russia. Certainly by Canadian standards that of the average Russian worker is low. But I advise you not to leap to conclusions that it is a *great* deal lower than the standard of living prevalent in other great areas of the world. For instance, both in Japan and in parts of South America I have personally seen more evidence of human misery of a physical kind than I did in Russia.

In Russia there is work for everybody. Social services look after people when they get sick and give them pensions when they get old. There is lavish provision for recreational activity in assorted clubs for educational, artistic, handicraft or sporting activity.

Ask Mikoyan about such things and he gives a reply like this.

"Our people can't help see the enormous improvement in their standard of living. Since 1948 the general level of consumer prices — of what people need to buy — has been cut in half, so that in a sense this means that their real wages have been doubled. In addition most people have had almost annual actual wage increases. Just inaugurated is the old age pension scheme which gives people about 70% of the income they had in their last job."

Mikoyan added: "Our people remember what they had under the Czar. They remember the terrible time they had during and after the war. What we have now is remarkable improvement by any measurement. We're not as rich as the Americans, but we're improving fast. It is good for both of us that we should improve."

I am not giving you figures on wages and prices because they are meaningless if not dwelt upon at length and if not related to the overall picture of taxation, social security benefits and so on.

Airplane is a poor way to see a country so I travelled from Moscow to Leningrad by train—about nine hours. Russia has various categories of train accommodation.

But the train by which I travelled is excellent in any country—by any standards—beautiful equipment, magnificently polished and cleaned. Car attendants were mostly women and on one Diesel locomotive I noticed, one of the engineers was a woman.

The countryside I travelled looks rather like parts of northern Ontario, (the same kind of trees) and the villages didn't look much different to thousands of North American villages. They're generally messy in both countries. But the Russians are even lazier about house painting than our people, and in the villages I saw no paved sidewalks, no paved streets, no motor cars.

Leningrad, the old capital and now a city of around 3½ millions, is to the westerner a much more attractive city than Moscow. It has an elegant appearance. It has much of great historic interest including the Hermitage which is one of the top three or four art galleries in the world.

Moscow is a Slavic city and as the capital of the Communist world it is constantly thronged with outlandish and sometimes very primitive people from the far reaches of Asia—Uzbekistans, Tibetans, Chinese, Kirghiz, Azerbaijani and scores of others.

But Leningrad looks and acts much more like a western city. Its people look much more familiar, more like we do —more like Scandinavians.

There aren't many pet dogs in Leningrad now. Too many people, during the seige of Leningrad, ate pet dogs and now a lot of people don't like dogs. The seige lasted a terrible 900 days. Much of the population was evacuated but those who did not escape experienced the epic tribulation of the whole war. One girl told me of the one slice of bread per day that was her total food for months on end. The so-called bread was one-fifth flour made out of grain, the rest was a filler made out of grass. She took the leather binding off books and boiled it to make a warm brown liquid that looked like tea. For warmth she burned furniture and books. For drinking water she dipped it in pails out of the Neva river which runs through the heart of the city.

Thousands starved to death. For weeks dead lay in the streets. Some went mad and turned cannibal. As this woman put it, "Often I had to run in the streets because somebody was chasing me to get a few bites."

One of the industrial plants I visited makes roller bearings, one of the most complex and difficult of all industrial processes. This factory employes about 12,000 people. About half of them are women. If they wish to have a baby they get 77 days off. When they return to work they park their child in the plant nursery and they get time off—when the times comes—to go over and feed it. About 85% of the workers live near the factory in apartments owned by the factory. In this industrial community—this town within a city—they have theatres, club houses, sport fields and stores. They get enormous doses of organized recreation and instruction of various kinds. The instruction may be in sports or engineering, drama or literature. Many of the ordinary workers are taking technical classes so that they can pass examinations and qualify for engineering and higher paid jobs in the plant. Some will be taking other university extension courses leading to degrees.

The plant community is a great hive not just of production activity but of social activity. When holiday time comes the good workers who have been agreeable, and well behaved, will be rewarded with a trip to a holiday camp, most of them down in the warm country around the Black Sea. There they will pay 30% of the cost of their holiday. The other 70% of the cost of their holiday comes out of a special plant fund. The overall size of this special holiday fund depends on efficiency in the plant.

There is a still further incentive for workers and managers to do good work and meet the quota set. Gains beyond the quota and savings made in production cost, help provide for a kind of profit sharing plan.

The boss of this plant said his personal income this year would be a salary and bonus equal to about 21,000 our dollars. Average pay of ordinary workers in the plant is about $2500.

Now I say something about Russian education.

In Canada and North America there is a great deal of boredom and very little fiery inspiration in the word education. On our continent, culture, with many people, is a word of reproach.

The situation in Russia seems to be different.

Russia is a seething mass of children, young people and adults studying—studying full time in schools, technical and specialist schools or in universities or taking part-time educational instruction. About one quarter of the total Soviet population last year was taking some formal education. That is a fact of profound importance.

The Soviet has 19.6 persons per thousand of its population in universities and technical colleges. The figure for Canada is 4.9. What is the quality of Soviet education? Well, universities are hard to get into. Secondly, a Soviet university graduate has about 50% more formal hours of instruction behind him than a Canadian graduate.

There are two reasons for intense educational activity.

First — there is an extremely intense propaganda barrage constantly thundering at the Russian people that education is a good thing: that it is pleasant, interesting, exciting and the normal activity of a sensible healthy citizen; that it is a continuing process through life — not something you stop at school or university graduation.

Second — university students get paid subsistence allowance. As they advance from one year to another, and if they do well in their grades, their pay goes up.

Third — education is the only way a Russian can get a more pleasant job, can improve his standard of living or win respect in his community.

From his first days in school, a remarkably comprehensive file is built up on the student's mind and personality. Is he showing special aptitude for mathematics or for art, for languages or soccer, for physics or for the track team? The aim of the educational machinery is to keep steering the child and the adolescent down the educational, sporting or cultural pathway for which he is best fitted, to give him special incentives and opportunities and special coaching so he will most fully realize his potentialities.

Ahead of the child who does not have brains and self discipline and who does not keep on passing examinations there is nothing but a very drab existence indeed. (Tell about girl interpreter and street repair girl).

The accepted facts and figures on Russia's armed might and on the extraordinary pace of industrial development make it quite plain that right now Russia is an extremely powerful adversary. By 1960 there will be further substantial gains. There is tremendous energy and drive in the decision-making part of the community. There is great discipline over the Soviet masses. There is the tremendous worship of education. In another decade and in another generation Russia's gains will be quite startling.

What I have said is most certainly not in praise of Russia. It is an urgent warning to ourselves for to know the adversary and to comprehend the danger is elementary wisdom.

So a very relevant question is this: How good and how worthwhile are the dynamics and objectives of our people? Are our personal objectives more than a Cadillac and a long winter vacation in Florida? Have we the will and the guts to make our free society expand and flourish and prosper, and have we the imagination and fire of spirit to evoke in our society a real sense of worthwhileness?

Quite clearly the future of our world depends chiefly on relations between the Americans and the Russians.

These two people are amazingly alike. They are boisterous, extremely self-confident, careless to the feelings of other people. They are extremely anxious to be admired and both very much want to be loved. Both are supremely doctrinaire and convinced of the total rightness of their way of life and both believe that all would be well in the world if only they could impose their system on the other.

But the most terrible chapters in history are those where one people has tried to impose by force its ideas on another people.

For some years it has appeared that peace served Russia's interest more than war. Peace was giving Russia time for vast internal development. The Soviet was making gains in Asia by economic and propaganda penetration.

The explosions in the middle East, in Poland, in Hungary — perhaps with further explosions in other satellites to come — open up a new period of great hazard.

Seeing the Kremlin gang in trouble may be giving some of us enjoyment. But here is a very dangerous situation for all mankind.

George Kennan was once America's ambassador to Russia. He has been specializing on Russia for most of a lifetime. He is now a professor at the Princeton School for Advanced Study. Over the years he has proved himself to be the wisest of commentators on Soviet affairs.

He says: "I think the recent developments in Poland and Hungary are bound, sooner or later, to mark the end of Moscow's abnormal power and domination throughout all of Eastern Europe. The same fundamental forces are plainly at work throughout the whole area."

But I think it would be most unwise to predict any mass uprising within the Soviet itself. I say nothing about what may happen to K. or B. in talking about the system as a whole. For several reasons.

The heartland of Communism is a ferociously disciplined society. The masters in the Kremlin have their tens of thousands of uniformed and secret police to suppress trouble and to ferret out potential troublemakers.

Behind the policemen stand a further defense for the regime the highely disciplined and dedicated multitude of seven million Communist party members.

Here's still another safety factor for the men in the Kremlin. In any society—and this applies in our own as well as elsewhere—only a few people are interested in public affairs. The great mass is by instinct pretty docile.

In the past decade or two in the Soviet, Stalin did one of history's greatest mass murder jobs on the politically energetic and vocal.

Having lost most of this generation of the politically active — call them the potential troublemakers — it will take the Soviet some time to breed up a new crop of potential dissenters and noncomformists.

Still another safety factor for the Kremlin is this:

After every revolution a new vested interest is created —a new group of people who have good jobs, a pleasant way of life, and a sense of superiority over the people.

In the vast bureaucracy that is the Soviet union, millions of people are happy at having power and superiority over somebody else. They have a lot of security and a great deal of incentive to be good and agreeable workers and to get ahead in their jobs. Both for them and for the mass of the Russian people there are evidences everywhere right before their eyes of the very real progress that is being made — progress for their nation of which they can be proud, progress for their own standard of living and sense of self-realization.

So I repeat: To underestimate the sweep and magnitude of what is happening inside the Soviet is just dangerous folly.

But again I quote Kennan with complete approval.

"The fact (is)" he says ""that the Soviet communist system is deeply wrong — wrong about human nature, wrong about how the world really works, wrong about the importance of moral forces, wrong in its whole outlook."

Some of us may take comfort in believing that the Soviet system has within it the cancer for its own destruction.

But for us the only course of safety and of wisdom is to look at our own society and to help make sure that in this world struggle we have the intellectual force and the spiritual health to merit and to assure victory.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. H. T. Jamieson, Honorary Auditor of the Club.

"THE SIGNIFICANT FOUR YEARS AHEAD"

An Address by

EUGENE MLLER
of
Business Week Magazine

Thursday, November 29th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: Distinguished guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada.

Our speaker today is a young man who has already reached a degree of responsibility and influence that most men work a lifetime to achieve. At the age of 31, Mr. Eugene Miller is Associate Managing Editor of Business Week Magazine which has a circulation of 300,000 comprised almost entirely of Business Executives. There is no doubt about the excellence of the magazine and the wide circulation in an excessive field says a great deal for its influence.

Eugene Miller was born in Chicago, Illinois and holds degrees from Georgia School of Technology, from Bethany College and from the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University. He also received a diploma for graduate work in economics at Oxford University.

World War II cut into Mr. Miller's career without apparently making any long term change in his plans, but it is interesting to note that he served in the U.S. Navy during the war and has continued ever since as a Senior Lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

Before going to magazine Business Week, Mr. Miller served as Assistant City Editor of the Greensboro North

Carolina Daily News, and it was not until 1952 that he became Southwest Bureau Chief for Business Week with headquarters in Houston, Texas. He was promoted to his present position of Associate Managing Editor in the same year, 1952.

As a Journalist Mr. Miller has been a frequent contributor to National Magazines, including Coronet, Rotarian, American and Popular Science. Moreover, he frequently appears on the N.B.C. and C.B.S. networks as a Business News Commentator. He has chosen as the title of his commentary today, "The Significant Four Years Ahead".

MR. MILLER: First I want to thank you for inviting me as your guest here today to speak upon a subject that is so much in the news to-day.

It would seem that the logical place to start off is with President Eisenhower's startling landslide of three weeks ago, for the election made history of its own. You are all aware of the results. By a landslide of 457 electoral votes to 74, the American voters gave President Eisenhower a second term in the greatest personal vote of confidence since Franklin Delano Roosevelt's victory in 1936.

The President's second term starts at a time of peak prosperity. And he is well aware that the fact of prosperity in his first term and the promise of it in his second was crucial in his victory. That fact too will help shape the Administration's economic program over the next four years.

During this period, the population of the United States will increase by at least 11-million. And simply just to maintain those people at their present standard of living, the United States' gross national product will have to rise to $437-billion.

But that's only a beginning. For the American labor force will be rising even faster than population. By 1960, at least 73-million people will be wanting jobs. And because nowadays, anything worse than about 4% unemployment scares some people, a prosperous economy in 1960 will have to be big enough to provide at least 70-million jobs.

And these 70-million workers will be more productive than to-day's workers. For 50 years, productivity has risen 2% a year, and for the last 10 years it has risen better than 3.5% a year. That means if it rises no more than 2.5% a year for the coming four years, it will take an economy of some $480-billion to make the U.S. look even comfortably prosperous.

But even that's not enough to satisfy Eisenhower. Administration leaders are aiming for a gross national product of close to $500-billion by 1960, $600-billion in 1966.

The Administration's program for the next four years, then, is more than a program of prosperity. It is a program of economic growth. Beyond that, it has to be a program of economic flexibility. To keep American business growing is going to have to make some major shifts over the next four years.

In the past two strong forces behind the growth of our economy have been capital spending and housing. Housing has already begun to sag, and there's little likelihood of vigorous expansion before the early 1960s. And though business spending for capital goods shows no signs of dropping—it doesn't seem likely it will rise much above 1956 $35-billion a year clip. So in a fast-growing economy, the push will come from other forces—most notably a new surge in consumption goods.

The Eisenhower Administration has made clear — through its first term and in the campaign—how it proposes to do the job. It intends to give the fullest possible scope to the enterprise and productive talents of the American people. And it intends to keep the economy free enough to make the internal shifts essential to continued growth. This means a minimum both of direct controls and of spoon feeding for industries in trouble.

What can one expect in government spending? While giving primary emphasis to private expansion in the next four years, the Administration recognizes that increased government spending will be necessary, if the country is to achieve adequate defense and social objectives. Many of those increases are already in the works. For example, Defense Department officials expect military spending to rise at least $1-billion annually over the next three years. As it shapes up now, the Eisenhower program will call for military spending close to $38-billion in fiscal 1958—a 5% boost over the current level. The biggest rise will be in guided missile production and electronics. In addition, non-military spending is moving up.

State and local spending is also expected to rise and this uptrend will continue. There are bound to be more increases in dollars allotted for highways, education, and welfare and health. State outlays on conservation and developments—such as water, sewage, and other utilities —will also climb.

Total government spending for goods and services—federal, state, and local—may rise from its present $80-billion to $100-billion in 1960.

And what of the balanced budget? During the campaign, the Administration made great political hay of the fact that this year the government showed a budget surplus of almost $3-billion. It is counting on another, although smaller, surplus next year; publicly, it is estimated at about $1-billion, though some Washington experts guess it might go as high as $3-billion.

A balanced budget has long been one of the Administration's most cherished goals. And it expects to continue achieving it next year despite an increase in the federal budget beyond 1956's $66-billion mark. Unless there is international strife, the Administration is set against a return to deficit spending.

This year, a major portion of budget surplus was funneled into debt reduction. If the economy keeps to its present high levels, Eisenhower is expected to do the same next year. His top economic advisers have long preached that a budget surplus, in prosperous times, should be used primarily for reducing debt.

Tax cuts will apparently play second fiddle to debt reduction next year. Many in the Administration feel that cutting taxes in boom times is not wise. A cut in the tax rates, however, is still a long-term government goal, and if the budget surplus exceeds $3-billion in 1957, there may be some reduction in taxes—primarily to middle and lower income families and small business.

Cost of living—The fact that the cost of living index has gone up less than 3% during Eisenhower's first term is a subject of passionate pride with Administration officials. As a result, they are disturbed that the index hit a new high last month.

The government has no specific legislative program to keep living costs down. But it's banking on a series of measures to stem an upward movement of living costs including, money and credit controls to curb inflationary price rises, increased productivity of industry to offset increases in labor costs, and an increased business competition, which will cause many companies to absorb increased costs without automatically passing them along to customers.

As for wages, if the economy keeps rolling along, wages will go in only one direction—and that is up. To-day's average factory worker earns a record $80 a week. But it is a mark that will soon be shattered.

The government itself will put some new upward pressure on wages by expanding the $1-an-hour minimum wage law to cover new groups of workers. But the big pressure will come from long-term union contracts, providing for automatic annual wage increases. Long-term contracts in the steel industry, for example, call for an automatic 7½c an hour increase next year and a similar amount in 1958.

And what about the squeeze on credit American businessmen have had to cope with for the past year and a half? Indications are that money will continue tight into early 1957—in line with the Administration's policy of relying on general monetary controls as long as runaway inflation is a threat. Thus, interest rates will generally remain high. However, some sources in Washington feel money may loosen up somewhat by mid-1957.

The farmer will come in for even greater attention, for the President is well aware that the current American general prosperity has not included the farmer, and the Administration has a key program to give farm income a shot in the arm. Its program will be centered around the soil bank and flexible support plans, both just beginning.

There will be continued emphasis on firm antitrust law enforcement such as characterized Eisenhower's first term. Many more of our leading blue-chip corporations will be brought to court by our Justice Department for monopolistic practices. The next four years should see a decision on one of the most important issues since enactment of the Sherman Antitrust Act—the exact meaning and application of the 1950 anti-merger law.

The meaning will be spelled out by the anti-merger cases now filed or still to come from the Eisenhower Administration. Only one such action had been filed when it took over in 1953. Since then, the Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission have brought more than two dozen cases challenging business management's right to merge with or acquire other concerns. The Administration is also expected to tighten antitrust statutes with new legislation.

The partnership power program enunciated by the President four years ago will continue. Already in the works is the new Upper Colorado River Water Project, to revitalize agriculture and provide new water for industry and municipalities in a five-state area. The $10-billion to $12-billion Missouri River Basin job will be pushed ahead. These will be major landmarks of Eisenhower's presidency. And so will be the $45-billion federal highway construction program, the most costly construction program ever tackled by any government, and designed to provide the U.S. with a 41,000-ml. network of super highways. Under this 13-year plan, the government will pay 90% of the cost of interstate roads, 50% of the cost of state and town roads. It means a new boom for the construction industry and road equipment manufacturers.

The U.S.'s private atomic power program will likewise move into high gear in the next four years. Already under construction or planned are eight power reactors, all under private auspices—some with government aid, some without. And the outlook is for more vigorous expansion of this program—including building reactors by cooperatives, other public power agencies, or even the government itself. It's known already that the Atomic Energy Commission budget for civilian activities in the year to come will be substantially greater—mainly to promote atomic power.

There will be some important programs in the social welfare field also. Although no spectacular new social security program is in the offing, legislation is expected to be introduced to expand voluntary health insurance—primarily to lower income groups and older persons. Special government housing assistance will be provided for our lower income families and for the aged.

And in the educational field, President Eisenhower will exert a major effort to push through Congress the $5-billion federal school aid bill which was defeated this year—mainly because of the segregation controversy. This program calls for $1-billion in federal matching grants to states and local communities for new schools, and the rest to be available in the form of loans.

There will also be new programs for our depressed cities and areas. New proposals due in Congress next year will include measures to render technical assistance to local groups planning economic rehabilitation, to join with the state or locality to extend loans for industrial projects that promise to improve the community's long-range economic outlook, and to contribute to the cost of rebuilding blighted commercial or industrial sections of depressed communities.

Those are the outlines of domestic policy.

Now what do the next four years hold for American foreign policy? When Eisenhower won the election in 1952, it was the Korean conflict — the final stage of Stalin's cold war — that dominated the world scene. Then U.S. foreign relations revolved almost entirely around two centers: (1) the East-West struggle and (2) U.S. efforts to strengthen the Western Alliance, to meet the threat of a monolithic Soviet empire—then at its most aggressive, if not its most brutal.

The world looked dark and dangerous, but its polarization around the two super powers gave it a stark, and misleading, simplicity. The United Nations, saved by its prompt action in Korea, still bridged East and West. But the U.N. was about the only thing that did.

To-day, Eisenhower squares away for a second term with two crises to face—one in the Middle East and one in Eastern Europe. The first has erupted from the clash of nations that all seemed, in 1952, to be securely within the Western world and willing to take their lead from the U.S. The second erupted from explosive forces within the Soviet empire, which was shaken in a way that no one either in Moscow or Washington could have imagined possible a few months ago.

The 1952 illusion of two single forces dominating the world has disappeared. Eisenhower faces foreign problems that look, and are, vastly more complex than the ones he faced four years ago. Yet in one way it is a simpler world. The U.S. has thrown its weight behind the United Nations as never before. In our push for peace, and for a world order based on law, Eisenhower will now lean primarily on two things—on the U.N. and on U.S. air atomic power. But he won't forget the Atlantic Alliance.

Eisenhower's basic problem is still the same—to deal with Soviet imperialism and the hard Communist core in the U.S.S.R. from which come its strength. It was Moscow's penetration into Egypt, with encouragement to dictator Nasser, that precipitated the punitive action of Israel, Britain, and France. It was Communism's ruthless policy of exploitation that led Hungary to revolt and then drowned her freedom in a blood bath. To the people of the Western Hemisphere and Western Europe—and to at least some in Asia—the Communist visage is again what it was in 1952. The Kremlin has buried the Geneva spirit in Hungary. It can hardly revive until an entirely new regime, aiming at the transformation rather than the defense of Communism, comes to power in Moscow.

Even so, Eisenhower will be dealing with a different Soviet empire than the one of 1952. Its power in the world to-day rests entirely on its ability to use the kind of brutal force it did in Hungary—and on its possession of the H-bomb and the world's second-ranking air force.

In all other terms, it stands exposed—economically overextended and politically bankrupt. Communism's economic efficiency and social progress have been made a myth in Eastern Europe by the combined effect of the Polish and Hungarian revolutions. Though the Stalinites may be back in control at the Kremlin, they can never find their way back to Stalinism, either in Eastern Europe or at home.

If the Soviet empire has changed in the past four years, so has the non-Communist world. Anti-Western nationalism has been growing by leaps and bounds in the vast area that stretches from Morocco to Indonesia.

It has been fanned by old and legitimate grievances against colonialism, by India's peculiar brand of neutralism, and finally by Nasserism. This last is a product of all the others, plus Soviet intrigue and the failure of leading western powers to cooperate in the Middle East.

When the flames finally go out around Suez, little will remain for the West to be happy over. Russian prestige—despite news of the Hungarian savagery—has never been higher among the Moslem peoples. Egyptian dictator Nasser, whose dream of an Arab empire had set off the explosive chain of events in the Middle East, had vaulted to even greater stature. The Suez Canal had been blocked and the world's shipping has been forced to ply the long route around the Cape of Good Hope. Delivery to badly needed oil from the rich fields of the Middle East has been cut off or delayed and severe shortages are only days away. Europe faces a winter of real hardship.

The one thing that can save Western influence in the area, in the long run, is the U.S. weight that Eisenhower displayed in two instances: (1) his support for U.N. moves to stop the fighting in Egypt and (2) the effort he made to show American understanding of peoples only recently freed from colonialism. There's no blinking away the fact that, in taking such a position, Eisenhower was also trying to prevent any Soviet military intervention in the Middle East. But in reacting as he did to the violence in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, Eisenhower staked out entirely new ground for American foreign policy. And he put a new complexion on (1) the U.S. role in the Middle East and (2) U.S. diplomatic dependence on the U.N.

The Middle East clearly has become our baby. The maintenance of peace and Western influence in the Middle East will increasingly depend on the U.S. It will depend on the push we give to the new U.N. police force, and to U.N. efforts to settle the Suez Canal question and the Arab-Israel border problem. And equally it will depend on the economic aid programs we develop for the area. It's evident that the U.S. will have to revamp its entire foreign aid program to meet the new situation in the Middle East and the whole uncommitted area. There is a chance, too, that much of our foreign aid will have to go through the U.N. despite all the technical problems involved and the domestic political obstacles.

Past and future divergences between U.S. and British-French policies in the Middle East will not prevent a revival of the North Atlantic Alliance. Of course, Eisenhower may not feel the same confidence in London and Paris, and vice versa. But the Russians have forced NATO together again in a hurry by their double-dealing brutality in Hungary.

However, the U.S. may soon be dealing with a different Western Europe—one that's committed as never before to early economic integration and ultimate political unity. A strong movement toward a United Europe, with British backing, was already under way before the Hungarian and Egyptian crises hit. This movement is almost sure to get renewed strength now, not least from the fact that Chancellor Adenauer's policies have been given a new lease on life by the resurgence of the Stalinites in Moscow.

Out the window now is the gradual but spasmodic development of Western contacts with the Russians since the Geneva summit meeting. There will be few Europeans, and not even a sprinkling of Americans, who will consider such exchanges while the present regime rules the Soviet Union. Trade may not entirely cut off, but it is sure to shrink back to the cold war level.

What Eisenhower faces in fact, is a new cold war period—more complex and probably more dangerous than the period he has helped bring to an end. But it is one that starts with a new hope that the U.N. can gradually enforce a rule of law in the world.

So far I've discussed the significant next four years in terms of United States economic and foreign policy. The next question is what does this mean as far as Canada is concerned?

A high level of prosperity in the United States, with new records being set in capital expansion, production, and employment is bound to be reflected in Canada. American demand for materials and minerals as oil and gas, iron ore, and nickel, and titanium is soaring. And the United States does not have the resources to serve these demands. The Paley Commission in our country stated the case clearly when it said: "The United States has crossed the great divide, and from being a nation with a surplus of raw materials, has become a deficit nation."

That means we will be more and more dependent on Canada as a source of raw materials, and we can expect the development of Canada's resources will go on at a breath-taking pace. Trade between our two countries will increase. However, there are still many obstacles in the way of the free flow of commerce over our borders. The Administration, I feel, will press wherever possible to get rid of the red tape and other obstacles that hinder trade between our countries. But just how successful the President will be is still not clear. For a sizable number of Republicans and a growing number of Southern Democrats are protectionist-minded.

The President will also push hard for our country's adherence to GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This too will have a hard time winning Congressional approval.

In terms of investing in branch plants and subsidiary companies in Canada you can expect American investment to continue high. Canadian investments will become more and more attractive as investment opportunities in areas like the Middle East look less atttractive.

I feel you can look forward to United States firms having a more enlightened view point in planning their Canadian operations, a subject of which there has been sizable criticism recently. Many of our companies are learning it is bad business and makes for poor relations with our neighbours across the border to operate their plants in Canada as if Canada is just another state in the union.

It would seem evident that in the years ahead, more and more American companies doing business in Canada will provide increased opportunities for Canadians to invest in their enterprises, as well as encourage Canadians to take an increasing part in the management of such operations.

In the foreign affairs field, we can expect Canada and the United States to continue to work closely together. This doesn't mean Washington will buy every idea Canada has to sell it, nor will Canada agree with every program the President and our Secretary of State come up with.

In the past, there has been a difference of opinion on foreign affairs issue and we can expect this to continue in the next four years.

The one thing clear, however, is that the United States has taken an increasing role in world affairs, and so has Canada. In the last several weeks the roles of both our countries have assumed a new and striking importance. By working together, wherever possible we may develop collectively and individually, policies that will make us outstanding bulwarks of Democracy and strength in the Western Hemisphere—and throughout the world. This consideration alone should be the magnet that will make the next four years a significant four years—a landmark in United States-Canadian relations.

THANKS OF THE MEETING was expressed by Mr. H. R. Jackman, Q.C.

"A WORLD WITHOUT FRONTIERS"

An Address by

ALAN JARVIS
Director, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Thursday, December 6th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: The Empire Club of Canada is particularly happy today to welcome as our speaker Mr. Alan Jarvis whose appointment in May 1955 as Director of the National Gallery of Canada was widely welcomed. Mr. Charles P. Fell, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery when he announced the appointment expressed the satisfaction of the Trustees that a Canadian should have the opportunity to assume these important duties at a time when the National Gallery affairs are expanding so rapidly.

Mr. Jarvis is a graduate of the University of Toronto and was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford where he specialized in philosophy with emphasis on esthetics. He later held a fellowship in the Graduate School of Fine Arts of the New York University where his special fields were museology, early Christian art and the English 18th century. I think it is important to emphasize that Mr. Jarvis is a sculptor with works in several collections. In 1941 Mr. Jarvis went to England to work for the Ministry of Aircraft Production, later to become special assistant and then private secretary to Sir Stafford Cripps. He edited the collected speeches of Sir Stafford which were published under the title Democracy Alive. He was also editor of the Penguin series, The Things We See.

Another facet of our speakers background is demonstrated by the fact that he was one of the first to join the staff of the Council of Industrial Design and was one of the principal organizers of the great post-war exhibition, Britain Can Make It. Later he was actively connected with the Festival of Britain in which he arranged the participation of the national voluntary youth movement. In 1950 Mr. Jarvis had become head of Oxford House in London which gave him a deep experience of popular education and recreation, and enabled him to conduct a sociological research project for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.

I should like to mention in passing that art has been the subject of all too infrequent speeches at the Empire Club and I find on consulting the index of subjects 1903 to 1953 in the 50-year index to our Year Book that on the occasion when this subject was discussed by Mr. W. G. Constable in 1938 his title was "Why Waste Money on Art Galleries?". Needless to say this deliberately shocking title produced a vigorous defense.

Mr. Jarvis has chosen what is perhaps a deceptively positive and reassuring title "A World Without Frontiers".

MR. JARVIS: I hope my title is not too deceptive. I am not going to talk about politics; history and particularly current events have a way of catching up with you, and I think it would be a rare Gallery Director who would talk about worlds without frontiers in a political sense just at this stage in history.

I am interested, Mr. President, to hear that in 1938 Mr. W. G. Constable spoke on "Why Waste Money on Art Galleries?" I think it is a fair comment on the change in the entire climate of opinion in Canada between 1938 and now that I don't choose a title 'Why Waste Money on Art Galleries?" I have in the last eighteen months, in the course of a coast to coast lecture tour, very often used the title "Is Art Necessary?" I have always presupposed in using that title that my audience nowadays would agree with me. (Incidentally some of you will probably recognize my title "Is Art Necessary?" I took it from the work of that great American humorist and philosopher, James

Thurber, who wrote a most distinguished book called "Is Sex Necessary?" You may remember that the opening sentence of that great work begins "Sex should be faced fearlessly and frequently", a point of view that I hold about art, this world without frontiers—the world that I want to talk about and that I begin right away to talk about without saying "Is it necessary to spend money on art galleries? Is it a waste of time?" I assume this audience will agree with me that we need art galleries, museums and we need private collectors, such as we have several distinguished examples here at the head table. I will come back to that in a moment.

Quite seriously, now in 1956, someone like myself can get up in the House of Commons these days and say "I want $885,000 with which to buy four pictures." My trustees in fact did that this spring and the concensus of the debate in the Federal House was overwhelmingly in favour of Canada acquiring great works of the past and of other countries on behalf of the nation.

I think this symbol or symptom of Canada's coming of age is most gratifying now that the Canadian public and our legislators are so willing to support the arts and culture generally. Further evidence of that has just occurred recently in the Prime Ministers announcement of giving $100,000,000 to the forming of a Canada Council for the promotion of the arts, the humanities and sciences and for university scholarships in Canada. As far as I can see there has been no public outcry that this is a waste of public funds or that this is a wrong thing for a federal government to do. The climate, as I say, in Canada has changed so completely since 1938 that the very contrast is there between W. G. Constables then title and the kind of title that I have myself chosen for today.

I think there is no arguing that any country that wishes to call itself civilized will want to have as part of its cultural resources, as part of our national storehouses of what we regard as things of value, not just gold in the basement of the Bank of Canada, but that we should have a great national archive of the cultural history of our own nation. We are indebted, as a nation, to individual men like Dr. Sigmund Samuel, here on my right, who has created this monument of Canadiana here in Toronto. We must have these documents, these records, these works of art from the past and from other countries if we are to be truly citizens of the world, because these are the windows through which we can in our imaginations, in our minds, participate in a world without frontiers either in terms of time or space. We can participate, backwards in time, in the arts of classical antiguity at the Royal Ontario Museum or the High Renaissance in the Art Gallery here in Toronto or in Ottawa. We can imaginatively share in the life of another century or another country through art. I will not necessarily be referring to works of visual art, although that is my profession to be concerned with painting, sculpture and drawing,—that field. I think this holds true of the drama, of music, literature, of the whole thing we call culture.

Anyone who has had the privilege, as we gallery directors or collectors have had, of living with a great work of art for any length of time, will agree that it is an experience that can take you out of the twentieth century back say to the eigtheenth century in time and into an entirely new imaginative world. For example, it has been my pleasure to look literally daily for quite a long time at the two Chardins that we bought this spring from the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein. It is an inestimable privilege to be able to live daily with works of art of that quality because the meaning that they contain develops day by day as you participate in looking at them. They are new each day; each day you find some new facet of that individual work and some new facet of the painter Chardin, himself. This holds true imaginatively of any experience that you may have living daily with a work of art.

It is equally true of contemporary works of art. We have in the National Gallery at the moment a very fine collection built up by Sam and Ayala Zacks of contemporary European painting and drawing. A most distinguished collection and, living with that collection, not only have I become more familiar with all kinds of new facets of modern European painting, but I feel I have become much more familiar with Sam and Ayala Zacks, the reflection of their personalities, and how they have formed these collections.

Although we have not a great deal of great works of art in Canada, the National Gallery, the Art Gallery of Toronto, the Royal Ontario Museum (which is a world famous museum and contains among other things one of the great collections of Oriental Art in North America) are now well established. What should we do next? I mentioned the Canada Council and it is something on which I am afraid I have been misquoted in the recent past, so it is something that I would like to say quite a lot of things about here and now. Clearly it is implied that I am a believer that governments should support the arts. I would not have my job if the Government were not supporting the arts to the extent of giving the National Gallery an extremely generous grant per annum for its running operations and a very generous grant indeed for purchases, and, when special purchases crop up like the one from the Prince of Liechtenstein, further parliamentary votes. Obviously I believe this is a good thing. Secondly, I firmly believe that the time has long been overdue for the formation of a Canada Council; that Mr. Massey's 1951 Report, the Report of the Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences, which rightly came to be known as the "Massey Commission" under his leadership, should by now be implemented. It was a right move on the part of the Federal Government to give this grant of $100,000,000 for a Canada Council which, to put it very briefly, is intended to foster the arts here at home and, in addition, to "project" Canada abroad.

I believe this is a good thing, but I fear that there are a great many misconceptions in the public mind and also in the minds of artists and art societies and art groups throughout Canada as to what a Canada Council can and should do. I am afraid those people who have been propaganding in favour of a Canada Council have spent rather too much time in saying that there should be a Canada Council and far too little time in thinking out how in fact it should work. I hope widespread misconceptions are not growing up that a Canada Council has nothing to do but just give away money, that it is money somehow that makes art develop in a country. That I do *not* believe to be true. The vital thing is the local art society, the local community in which there is a lively interest in the arts, and the local music club or dramatic society with its circle of audience and friends. In other words, the "grass roots" is what is important is a country like ours. No amount of legislation and no amount of money, however generously distributed on the part of the Federal Government, is going to make the arts increase or flourish. That cannot happen. I believe that the arts in Canada are flourishing; that I have seen at first hand. From coast to coast wherever I have gone, there has been this fantastic "boom" in the arts. The number of local art societies developing, attendance at local art galleries, the growth of local art centres of all kinds, the number of people painting as a pastime, all this quite clearly indicates that there is a real boom in the arts in Canada, and out of this are growing more and more artists of fine quality. The vital thing in society is the growth of the arts out of the community and nothing that any federal government, however much money it might have, however widespread it might make grants and donations and so on, can do can alter the real nature or the character of the arts in our kind of democrcy. As I say, they must grow up out of grass roots.

How the Canada Council should work, as I see it, is not (as I am afraid a great many artists hope) that it will hand out money lavishly to anyone who comes along and says "I think I could be a better painter" or "I have an unwritten novel inside me." Hundreds of people, you know, feel that they could write a good book if someone would only give them $10,000 and two years off. They claim they have "promise": "If only I were given a chance, I could do XY and Z." I am afraid that all the Canada Council can and should do is to behave rather like a bank. I have said this once before and have been misquoted. I don't mean this in any pusillanimous sense at all, but, in realistic banking, you go to your banker and say, "I want $10,000', and the banker says to you "Have you got $10,000 worth of security?" In other words, you have got to have $10,000 before you can borrow $10,000. And the analogy in the arts I think is exact. With the Canada Council, if someone comes along and says, "I feel I could write a great book if you would only give me $10,000 and a year off", that person must be turned down flat, just as a banker would turn you down if you had no security.

What the Canada Council can help is the man or the society, the ballet group, the theatre group or whatever, that has proved that they are worth support. Now this may sound ironic, but I think it could successfully function only on this kind of basis. The individual artist comes to the Canada Council and says, "Here is the work I have done to date. I feel that I need the refreshment of travel or scholarship abroad," (an incidentally the Government has been doing this quite a lot in the past—sending artists abroad) "I think my work is worth $5,000. Will you advance me a $5,000 scholarship?" And it is up to the people in the Canada Council to assess this work and say, "Yes, this man is worth our investing so much money". Equally, a theatre company comes along and says, "We really have not done anything except a few little amateur productions in the local church hall, but I, John Smith, the Director, I feel I am a genius, and if you will give me $50,000 to start my theatre company, I feel that I might do a wonderful job." There again, I am afraid that the attitude must be that you say, "No, you have got to prove the hard way that you are capable of directing fine productions, then we might help your company." In other words, you cruelly wait until say the Stratford Company has proved itself, as it has now, and then you say, "This company is worth support; this company is worth sending on the road; this company is of such a quality that we should make its work available to audiences right across the country or indeed send this company abroad." But it would be disaster if the Canada Council or federal funds were used as a kind of benevolent institution to help the struggling people who might or might not show promise one day. In other words, to put it briefly, it will be the duty of the Canada Council to foster and support only work of fine quality, and you can only judge that work when it has actually been produced.

As I say, this may sound hard-headed and cruel, but I am sure that anyone experienced in the business world would entirely agree that you have got to back what you believe shows real promise. After all, exactly the same thing applies to scientific research. No intelligent company or government is just backing research-in-general; you are backing the individual men whom you believe will, if supported and given the laboratory equipment and so on, arrive at the right results in the end. The Canada Council should only support quality. This has been an unending refrain in every speech that I have made from coast to coast, that it is our responsibility—and I am sure the other gallery directors, museum directors, and collectors here at the head table, agree with me—and it is our duty in a country like Canada, where these cultural matters are still at, if not a youthful, certainly not at a fully mature stage, to insist on the highest possible standards of artistic enterprise, whatever it is.

Let me quote one entirely practical example. When we were asking the House of Commons last spring for this large sum of money, $885,000, with which to buy four old master paintings from the Prince of Liechtenstein, there was a faint undertone in the House of Commons that perhaps we were spending too much money on paintings of the past, old master works, and from other countries, and was the National Gallery spending enough money on Canadian art itself? Well, I believe we are, and I would shudder to think of a day arriving when an institution like ours, the National Gallery of Canada, is in any way forced by federal legislation, or indeed public opinion, to spend some fixed sum of money on Canadian art, for this simple reason: This year might be a very lean year. We might find comparatively few works of art, paintings, drawings, sculpture, or whatever, by Canadians that we regard as worthy of a place in the National collection. Next year might be a very fat year; we may find many many more, in fact next year we hope we will. (We are organizing the Second Biennial of Painting and we hope that the whole of that exhibition will be of such quality that we can buy virtually the entire exhibition for the National Gallery.) As I say, next year might be a fat year, and I see no reason why we should not spend the whole of our annual appropriation on Canadian pictures; but where it would be disaster would be if we had to spend say $25,000 or $50,000 a year every year on Canadian art. What would happen? This year is a lean year and we look around the galleries, the exhibitions, the studios of the artists, and do not find very much top quality work, but we say we have got to spend the money anyway, so very cynically we stick our tongues in our cheeks and say, "We have got to spend the money, we will buy this fourth-rate stuff by Mr. X and put it in the basement." I think if you tried to operate on that kind of double standard, wanting to buy only the best and being forced through federal legislation to make a certain fixed expenditure, you would get a vicious downward spiral and all standards would disappear.

I have said this over and over again to audiences of artists in Canada and they entirely agree that the National Gallery should be buying only great works of art of the past, and, when it comes to buying Canadian works, we should buy only what we believe to be worthy of a place in the National collection. The artists themselves want that the National Gallery purchases should be a sign of prestige, a cachet to the artists. It would be, to put it quite simply, insulting if we were going around saying, "Well, we have got so many thousands of dollars to spend on Canadian art, lets dish it out and treat the artists contemptuously, as if we were some kind of benevolent society." This attitude must not happen. We must never, in other words, slip into the position that we were in in the days when W. G. Constable was talking in Canada, the position of saying, "Well, it isn't bad for a Canadian. You know, it is not bad, and it is a native product." Whatever it is that we are doing in Canada from now on, whether it is painting or the theatre—as in Stratford—or music, or ballet, whatever it is we must never indulge in that outmoded, provincial and parochial way of thinking where we say, "Not bad for a Canadian", and subsidize or help something that if of indifferent quality, because, the moment that happens, a kind of Gresham's law in the arts does prevail.

One further thing that has been discussed publicly about a Canada Council I also want to mention. Last Saturday, in her column, Pearl McCarthy, writing about the Canada Council, suggested that it should be concerned with community planning and public building and architecture. I am not sure I agree with that, but this is again a topic about which I feel very strongly now that I am back in Canada. Traditionally, architecture is the mother of the arts and, if I read history aright, you can find no period in the past where painting, sculpture and the allied arts flourished if architecture itself did not flourish. And architecture is inseparable from the community in which the individual buildings sit; community planning therefore is equally important. I agree with Miss McCarthy very much that something more needs doing in Canada at this stage about the design and planning of our communities, of our public buildings, and of architecture generally. But I do not think that a Canada Council could or should do anything about it. Miss McCarthy said if only a Canada Council could be giving "spiritual guidance." Well, perhaps it could go that far, perhaps the National Gallery should go at least that far in the fields of architecture and public planning and be trying to foster public opinion at least to the extent that it comes to believe that community planning and improved public building is necessary. Perhaps spiritual guidance could be given to that extent, but I do not see how a federal government or a federal agency like the Canada Council can or should interfere with local effort or initiative. Here again the vital thing is that your local citizenry—your local public here in Toronto or in the smaller communities, new communities that are going up in the mining areas or in the North Country, cities like Calgary and Edmonton that have doubled their population in ten years, that are expanding enormously—the vital thing is that the local citizens should care enough about their public buildings and the planning and beauty of their environment. They are the ones who should set the standards and the pace by criticizing local effort.

I hope that much more of this will happen in Canada, that community planning and the design of public buildings should become much more the concern of public opinion. The number of times you find a photograph of a new building or the drawing of a proposed new building and no mention is made of the architects name! It is as if these things grow like mushrooms and are not the creation of individual men and individual men's imaginations. I need not go so far as to say that I wish every building put up was a subject of public controversy and that for ugly buildings the architect should be punished in some way. After all, you can fine people and put them in jail for committing a nuisance like having too much smoke or a factory that smells. Well, there are certain buildings going up—I won't say that they smell, but in a sense they certainly could be described as being a public nuisance—and somehow our citizens will certainly be outraged if a factory is polluting a river or the local atmosphere, and remain quite unmoved by some building that is going to be a terrible legacy for another generation, an eyesore that we are handing on to our children.

Here is a sphere in which I think Canada does lag behind, and here again I think the impetus to fresh creation must come from the ranks of the architects, city planners, town planners and industrial designers. There is nothing that we can do from above or from outside, whether it is through the National Gallery or the Canada Council or the National Industrial Design Council or whatever other agencies there are for helping to stimulate public opinion. As in any of the other arts, the really creative leadership must come from within the profession itself and, at the risk of sounding unkind to two distinguished architects here present, one of whom is not an architect in his day to day work, Martin Baldwin—he is a gallery director but he belongs to the profession—I pray that Canadian architects as a profession and as a whole should show more concern with promoting the interests of their own profession and the social needs of the Canadian people. Because we are building so fast and so much everywhere in Canada, if it is done without thought, without planning, without imagination, we are going to leave an appalling legacy to the next generation and generations after that. Our responsibilities in a once beautiful and unspoiled country, it seems to me, are double now that we are such a privileged and prosperous country. But, as in all of these things, government can do a great deal to help, but that never will be the whole story. In the long run, if we are to be a successfully civilized and cultured democracy, what really matters is public opinion and public response.

I began by saying that I am myself enormously heartened to find huge audiences all over Canada and particularly, I may say, in the smaller and newer towns, where they have not got all the attractions and diversions that exist in a metropolitan city like Toronto, come out to hear me or our travelling lecturers talk about the visual arts. The interest is there, infinitely more widespread and more profound an interest than in 1938 when I left Canada, and I hope that public opinion will become more articulate, that it will keep, first of all the National Gallery itself, and then the new Canada Council on its toes by being a vigilant and critical public opinion; that it will see to it that all the federal agencies, and indeed the local community agencies, are serving the public right. That is fundamental to health in any democracy—how much the ordinary people care and how much they will keep their leaders on their toes. If in Canada we can count on a vigilant and intelligently critical public opinion, those of us who have been privileged to acquire positions of influence and leadership in the field of the arts in Canada, can, I believe, look forward, not to a Canadian renaissance because it is not a *re*birth, but the nascence of a Canadian culture of which every single one of us, as Canadians, can be proud.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. Harold V. Cranfield.

"EDUCATION AND THE COLD WAR"

An Address by

JAMES STUART DUNCAN, C.M.G.
Chairman, Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario

Joint Meeting with the Canadian Club of Toronto and the Toronto Board of Trade

Monday, December 10th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: Brig. W. Preston Gilbride, President of the Canadian Club of Toronto.

Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, First Vice-president of the Empire Club, introduced the speaker.

LT.-COL. MONTAGUE: Certainly this is the occasion when no one present can contradict the statement "Our speaker today, Mr. James S. Duncan, needs no introduction to this audience."

To date, the James S. Duncan story of progress is in its 47th year and it began when, following his father's example, he entered the agricultural implement business here in Toronto. Taking time out to serve with the gunners during World War I, he is one of Canada's esteemed war veterans. He returned to Massey-Harris on demobilization and, after world-wide experience with that company, he became its president early in World War II.

His efforts, during that anxious period, in connection with the creation of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan won him the honourary rank of Air Commodore in the R.C.A.F. and, when victory brought an end to hostilities, his many activities in the Allied cause brought him grateful recognition from our Sovereign and from France and Norway. He is now a Companion of The Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, he belongs to the French Legion of Honour and, on appropriate occasions, he wears the Norwegian Cross of Liberation.

Turning his attention to the problems of peace, he continued to render public service of the highest order when he formed the Dollar-Sterling Board and founded the Australian-Canadian Association.

Meanwhile, he expanded his company's interests in the international field and, by the acquisition and erection of strategically located companies and plants on this continent and abroad, he guided Massey-Harris-Ferguson Ltd. to its pre-eminent position amongst world leaders in the agricultural implement industry.

A few months ago, on medical advice, he resigned as Chairman of the Board, President and Director of Massey-Harris-Ferguson Ltd.—following a period of indifferent health.

Very recently, Premier Frost announced that Mr. Duncan had accepted appointment as Chairman of the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario and thus was again assuming active responsibilities in the field of public service.

Last spring, in Chicago, the National Sales Executive Organization named Mr. Duncan "the Canadian Businessman of the Year". Early this fall he directed a searching study of the current and anticipated available supply of scientific and engineering personnel in Canada which was initiated by the National Conference on Engineering, Scientific and Technical Manpower held at St. Andrews-by-the-Sea.

Today he will address us on:— "Education and the Cold War".

Gentlemen—I have the honour of introducing:

Honourary Air Commodore James Stuart Duncan, C.M.G., Chairman, The Hudro Electric Power Commission of Ontario—and Canadian businessman extraordinary.

MR. DUNCAN: Probably never since Confederation has so much interest been taken in education as during the past eighteen months.

The explanation is, of course, a simple one. The public, with its customary insight into such matters, has suddenly realized—and many educationalists have known for a long time—that Canada is facing an educational crisis, and because education is the foundation upon which our national strength and well-being are built, something must be done about it—and done quickly.

The unpalatable facts which we are facing are basically no different to those being experienced by the rest of the Western World, and particularly by the United States. This doesn't simplify the situation, of course, but makes it all the more serious.

It is obvious that all of us in varying degrees have been slow to appraise the impact of a rapidly growing population and an increasing desire for a college education upon enrolment in our schools and universities. We have also failed to realize in time that greatly increased numbers of scientifically trained men and women are required in this new technological age to man our industries, our mines, our research laboratories, our public utilities, and to meet our defense requirements.

Although there are few large industries or educational institutions in Canada that are not suffering from a deficiency in qualified scientists and engineers, we have not yet felt the full impact of this shortage. This is because a large number of returned men at the end of World War II temporarily swelled the enrolment in the engineering courses of our universities and, more important still, because we have been able to attract qualified men from England, the Continent and the U.S.A.

This latter source of supply is rapidly drying up, however, for the simple reason that the countries upon which we have been drawing are also short of qualified men.

At all events, we should look at the problem as one belonging to the Western World and not to Canada alone. To help ourselves by weakening our neighbours is merely to rob Peter in order to pay Paul.

Fortunately, the problem is not an insoluble one. In the simplest of terms it is one of money, of vast quantities of money, of buildings to house our rapidly expanding requirements for more schools, more teachers' colleges, more and larger universities, more technical colleges and particularly more qualified teachers. Of all these, the last is the most important.

This is a challenge which is not beyond the strength or the resources of Canada—indeed it is one which we cannot reject or back away from because education is the raw material out of which our progress, our prosperity, and our national well-being are built. It is not, however, a small problem. Over the next twenty-five years the cost of enlarging and equipping our university buildings alone, it is estimated, will be in the neighbourhood of $1,750,000,000 and their annual maintenance will increase from $80,000,000 to $600,000,000.

The Federal Government's generous proposal of a grant of $50,000,000 towards capital expenditures for university buildings—to be made provided Parliamentary approval is obtained and through the Canada Council if and when established—is a most welcome step in the right direction.

It is but a step, however, and the overwhelming proportion of the monies required to finance immediate and long-term expansion of our universities must still be raised from corporations and other sources which are the chief beneficiaries from the education given to our young people by our universities.

Other countries have faced more difficult educational problems, however, and have solved them with success. What they have done we can do also providing we make up our minds to it and all segments of our society play their part with vision, with foresight and with determination. As I know my fellow citizens, they will not fail in this.

In addressing ourselves to this problem I hope that we will be imbued with the fact that important as is the problem of our educational facilities, that of training the required number of teachers is more challenging still.

This crucial problem will not be solved until the teaching profession is established on a higher basis of consideration, of prestige, of public recognition and of earning power.

So long as the best brains among our graduates can obtain greater rewards for their services in industry or in commerce, the teaching profession will continue to be undermanned.

It was in this atmosphere of educational crisis that an investigation was started which led to the National Conference on Engineering, Scientific and Technical Manpower, of which I had the honour of being Chairman and which assembled at St. Andrews in the early part of September under the auspices of A. V. Roe Canada Limited, to whose breadth of vision and generosity we are all indebted.

The scope of the Conference was indeed far wider than its title implied and many of the broader aspects of education were probed and examined.

In many respects, the St. Andrews Conference broke new ground. It was the first time that such an important group of distinguished educationalists and industrialists had gathered to discuss their mutual problems.

Out of this memorable Conference emerged not only a better understanding of the point of view of both parties, but a further realization on behalf of industry that being the largest employers of the product of our universities, they have an inescapable financial responsibility to the other party.

Two resolutions were proposed to the Conference and unanimously carried.

The first was that an Industrial Foundation on Education should be established, with Mr. Crawford Gordon, Jr., as its Chairman, and financed entirely by industry. The general objectives of the Foundation were that it should be a fact-finding organization which would perform broad functions on behalf of industry in the field of education.

It was felt, however, by all concerned that these objectives, desirable and indeed necessary as they are in themselves, were too narrow to make the kind of contribution to which Industry aspired. It was also thought that to function fruitfully the Industrial Foundation should be but a unit in a larger National Committee which could be composed of all the national entities responsible for, or having a direct interest in, education, such as the professional societies, industry and commerce, Federal Government agencies and the whole field of educational organizations.

The second resolution of the St. Andrews Conference was, therefore, to set up an Exploratory Committee to examine the feasibility of establishing a National Advisory Committee on the Advancement of Education, and I was appointed its Chairman.

Without wearying you with unnecessary details, suffice it to say that after discussing the situation with some of Canada's most distinguished educationalists drawn from various provinces, we came to the conclusion that largely because of provincial autonomy in matters of education, a national educational body along the lines which we were exploring would not be acceptable. The opposition to it was not confined to any one province.

Being desirous, however, of translating into action the basic wishes of the St. Andrews Conference, the following decisions have been arrived at. They carry the approval of all educational leaders from various parts of the country with whom we have discussed them in detail.

The Industrial Foundation on Education, in place of being a unit in a larger organization, would become the senior body. Its scope would be enlarged. It would be a fact-finding body, a clearing house for educational information, the service arm for educational authorities if they wished to make use of it, but it would be strictly without executive functions.

It would be expected among many other activities to—

(a) Establish and review yearly the probable ten-year projection of enrolment in our institutions of learning, from our elementary schools through to our post-graduate courses and including our technical schools.

(b) Gather together figures representing the requirements for buildings, equipment, teaching staff, and capital and yearly maintenance costs based upon these projected enrolments.

(c) Investigate the basic reasons for the shortage of teachers, making careful comparisons of salaries paid to those employed in other walks of life and performing tasks requiring comparable preparation and effort.

(d) Undertake public relations functions to acquaint the public, labour unions, corporations, Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities with the problems involved in education and their cost if Canada is to keep abreast, educationally, with her growing population, her responsibilities for defense and her opportunities for development.

(e) Undertake a continuous campaign to educate the public, but mainly the Corporations, concerning not only their obligations to support education but how this can best be done.

In order to implement these functions, the Foundation would have to be enlarged beyond that originally intended and its staff increased so that it could keep in constant contact with the main groups representing labour, professional societies, industry, governmental agencies and educational organizations.

It would be assisted and guided in its work by an Advisory Council on Education which would be composed of, say ten prominent educationalists chosen for their geographical location and their recognized qualifications and prominence.

As previously stated, one of the principal functions of the Foundation would be to acquaint the public with the necessity of supporting education. With certain notable exceptions, the public and Corporations which have generously supported charities have withheld their support from educational institutions. A similar condition existed in the U.S.A. until very recently. Today American Corporations have progressively come to appreciate their responsibilities as regards education and, in the case of a representative group of corporations, have been supporting it on the basis of approximately 0.40% of their net taxable income.

If industry and commerce in Canada and the general public could be brought to realize that their future, their earning power and the standard of living of our nation are in no small degree dependent upon our educational system, and could they be brought to support it on a basis similar to that practised across the border, a surprisingly large proportion of the total capital expenditure anticipated over the next twenty-five years could be financed from this source.

The Foundation, gentlemen, represents our industrialists' very real and very urgent desire to make an important contribution to what they have come to believe to be Canada's No. 1 problem.

They have no ulterior motives, no special interest to serve. They propose to exert no pressure on any educational authority and will confine themselves to gathering information and expressing a point of view which can be accepted or rejected at will. It is important at this juncture to bring out in the open the following point. Every time that it is suggested that the science courses in our universities should be enlarged so as to infuse into our economic system a greatly increased number of engineers and scientists, someone immediately rushes to the support of the humanities, arguing that we must not be stampeded into copying Russia's specialization, that our science courses must not be increased at the expense of our arts courses, that the best engineers are those who have been exposed to a broad classical education, that one cannot live by bread alone, and so on.

Let me assure the critics that their fears are groundless. No one to my knowledge, and certainly not the body of industrialists who gathered together at St. Andrews to launch the Industrial Foundation, nor its Executive Director, Mr. S. H. Deeks, who made such a brilliant analysis of the national educational problem, would favour such a programme.

Too many of our leaders in business and industry are arts graduates to find such sentiments prevalent among them.

What we are saying, however, is that we consider it to be of the highest national priority that our educational institutions produce a considerably greater number of scientists, engineers and technicians. The two former categories at least should continue to receive a well-rounded education. Meanwhile, our arts and other non-scientific courses should be enlarged also to provide for the increasing number of applicants which year by year will be knocking at the doors of our universities.

We believe profoundly that our engineers should not be overly specialized. Technology is changing so rapidly that on this ground alone it would not be desirable.

We believe also that those who are going to be responsible for our technological progress should have an understanding of the human values which stand behind it.

It must be fully realized by all, however, that the U.S.S.R. and now China are taking a short cut to their technological achievements and doing so successfully.

We are not recommending that we follow in their footsteps but there must be a full understanding of the fact that to keep a balance between the Arts and the Science courses, and in the Science courses themselves a balance between the cultural and the technical, adds greatly to the magnitude of the educational task which we are facing at a time when the Western World, and particularly the U.S.A., is being challenged in the area of technological progress which we have come to regard as the source of our greatest strength.

None will deny that the Western World's quickened interest in education and the training of larger numbers of scientists, of engineers and of technicians was sparked by the information which filtered through to us during the last two years from behind the Iron Curtain. Particularly when some of its folds were lifted at Geneva, that highly farcical conference at which the Russian Bear took on the traits of the friendly St. Bernard.

We learned of the surprising size and remarkable acceleration of their educational system which within one generation, from almost a dead start, was now turning out highly qualified scientists and engineers so rapidly that they had not only drawn up alongside the U.S.A., but last year in 1955 graduated 120,000 scientists and engineers against the U.S.A.'s 70,000.

We learned also that our views concerning the quantitative rather than the qualitative basis of their educational system were incorrect and that, although less roundly educated than our students, their graduates were just as qualified in their fields as ours. Graduates in U.S.S.R. have over 50% more study hours to their credit than have North-American students.

We learned of the upward surge of their industrial production which jumped in the five years ending in 1955 by 89% and that their present five-year plan ending in 1960 called for a further 65% increase.

We listened to one of their leaders at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in February of this year state with perhaps somewhat more boastfulness than brevity, that "We now enjoy all the prerequisites for accomplishing within an historically brief space of time the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R. to catch up and surpass the most highly developed capitalistic countries in production per head of population."

We learned also that Russia was adopting the most advanced scientific and mass production procedures known to industry anywhere in the world, that their designs of automation equipment, computing machines, electronics, and application of nuclear energy for industrial purposes paralleled that of the U.S.A. or Great Britain.

For those of us who know something of the U.S.S.R.'s capacity for hard work, of the ruthless determination of her leaders to make this her century, these results are less surprising.

Under the Soviet system, where the Trade Union leader joins hands with management to drive the men and women workers to ever higher levels of productivity, where the attainment of the monthly objective is sacrosanct and the human material relatively unimportant, they have always had an advantage over the more leisurely and individualistic effort of the West. When to this is added an ever-increasing flow of highly trained specialists, who are introducing into the Soviet industrial structure the most advanced techniques known to the world for increasing productivity, Russia's surprising industrial progress becomes even more explainable.

There is no doubt in my mind that Russia, with her strictly materialistic point of view, with her objective of world domination strongly outlined before her, has shown a clear appreciation of the value of the scientist and the engineer in developing the economic and military power of the state. But more important than that, 15 or 20 years ago she displayed a greater understanding than did the West that the technological revolution, which is still in its early stages, would require a vastly greater body of highly skilled scientists and engineers than was ever required before—and that the nation which could hold the lead in the field of technology would bid fair to hold the lead in world affairs.

It is true that the Russia of today requires more engineers per capita than North America because she has to construct more roads, more sewers, more bridges, more railroads, more power plants and more homes than we do. We must also remember that her economy is still smaller than that of the U.S.A. I have no doubt in my own mind, however, that with this vast outpouring of highly trained men and women, the U.S.S.R. is preparing to become the world centre of technical "know-how" and scientific enlightenment for the underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa.

In every Russian factory which I visited last year I found important groups of Chinese engineers and technicians in training.

The United States policy of non-recognition of a rapidly developing China, with its 600 to 650 million people, was truly a regal gift to the U.S.S.R.! We Canadians probably would not have initiated such a narrow policy, but we did go along with it, which to my mind is just about as bad.

By following this policy, we not only handed exclusively to Russia the industrialization and education of that great Asiatic nation, but we locked and barred the door so that no one else could get in on the process.

And what have been the results? China is presently engaged in her first five-year plan for industrialization. It is based upon some 150 major projects, all of them blue-printed in Russia and under the supervision of Russian engineers.

Russia's system of education is essentially the master pattern upon which China's vast programme of higher education is based. All classes of Chinese society have embarked upon this programme with a vigour and a determination to learn equalled only by what is taking place in Russia itself.

All engineering studies are carried out with translated Russian text books, and because this process is too slow and is holding up their programme, Russian has become a compulsory subject in all Chinese Universities, along with the history and philosophy of the Chinese and Russian Revolutions.

The teeming millions of Chinese are still illiterate, but vast efforts are being made under the guidance of Russia to educate the masses, and 51 million children are already enrolled in the primary schools. At the other end of the educational scale, 10,000 students, of whom 30% will be women, are expected to be enrolled in the science courses of the C'ing Hua University in Peking in 1957.

It is confidently expected by some of those who have made a close study of the situation that this country, which we refuse to recognize, will reach a level of industrialization within 20 years which will make it one of the most powerful nations on earth. In addition, with the decline in the infant mortality rate and the notable advance in hygiene and living conditions, the Chinese population is increasing by leaps and bounds. Within 30 to 35 years, in fact, it may reach 1,000 million, a figure which would exceed the population of Russia, Europe and North, Central and South America with the West Indies thrown in for good measure. At least, history will not say of us that when we refused to recognize a nation we chose a small one.

And now that I have come to the end of my talk, let me repeat what I have said on many platforms. The danger of a third world war, present appearances notwithstanding, is not imminent. The West obviously will not start it and neither will the U.S.S.R., because she is satisfied that she is winning the cold war and has, therefore, according to her own thinking, more to lose by world conflict than we have.

The important question is: What is the West going to do about all this?

It is not that we must do one thing, but many things. Above all, we must not let down our guard, we must match Russia's growing military strength, and particularly her economic progress, with our own. The development of our educational system is at the very core of this problem.

But if any measures are to be effective the time has come for all leaders of goodwill in the Western World to find once again a common ground for unity of policy. The issues which separate us are important in themselves, but they shrink into insignificance when offset against the Western World's main objective of holding in check the aggressive purpose of the U.S.S.R.

United, the Western World has still the resources and the manpower to check the U.S.S.R. Disunited, it will fall an easy prey to their aggressive designs.

But alas! unity alone is not sufficient. Unity must be served by courage, by discipline, by loyalty, by backbone and by determination, to be effective.

Since the end of World War II, the western democracies have lost control of many of their vital spheres of influence because their fear of starting a world conflict has caused them to run for cover before the rattling of Russian armour.

Concession has followed upon concession, compromise upon compromise, and appeasement upon appeasement. As I read my history, the slippery path of concessions has never led the world to enduring peace. When Neville Chamberlain, returning from Munich, announced that he was bringing with him "peace in our time," listen to what Winston Churchill said in the House of Commons on the subject of appeasement on that fateful Monday in October, 1938:

> "And do not suppose that this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning, this is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which

> will be proffered to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigour, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in olden time."

Eighteen years later we are faced with the same issues. The question which we must ask ourselves today is: Have we the moral health and courage to rise again and take a stand for freedom?

In my own opinion, the day we do, the day we say "Thus far, but no farther," we will have taken the first real step towards the establishment of lasting peace.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. A. J. Little, President of the Toronto Board of Trade

"CANADIAN RESOURCE POLICY"

An Address by

THE. HON. JEAN LESAGE, M.P.
Minister of Northern Affairs and
National Resources, Ottawa

Thursday, December 13th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp,O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada,

Our speaker today is the Hon. Jean Lesage, M.P., Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in the Federal Government. While I have no doubt that Ministers at Ottawa are inclined to feel that they are speaking constantly to the people of Canada, I would like to assure Mr. Lesage that the members of the Empire Club of Canada would be happy to hear even more frequently from the Ministers who guide the destinies of Canada in the central government.

When these Ministers come from the Province of Quebec we are particularly delighted and I want to welcome Mr. Lesage in a truly appropriate manner—

Afin d'attester la sincérité et la chaleur de l'accueil que nous vous accordons Monsieur le Ministre, je tâcherai de vous addresser quelques paroles en français. C'est la coutume de notre siciété malgré la pauvreté des expressions et l'insuffisance de mon accent. Nous sommes toujours heureux de recevoir parmi nous les visites de nos amis de la belle province de Quebec et nous sommes vraiment reconnaissants de l'honneur que vous manifestez à notre société en venant nous adresser aujourd'hui.

Mr. Lesage was born in Montreal and after obtaining a B.A. Degree in 1931 he studied Law at Laval University from which he graduated in 1934. He has practised law with eminent associates C. G. Power, Valmore Bienvenue, Paul Lesage and Jean Turgeon. From 1939 to 1944, Mr. Lesage was a Crown Attorney. His experience in the House of Commons began when he was successful in the general election of 1945 and he was re-elected in 1949 and 1953 to represent the Constituency of Montmagny-L'Islet. To indicate the activities which finally lead to his appointment as Minister, I will mention that he served as Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Commerce, Chairman of the Committee on Old Age Security whose report has been accepted by the federal government and the provinces as the basis for the new Old Age Pensions Plan. On January 24, 1951 he was appointed Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and on January 1st, 1953 Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance. Numerous occasions to represent Canada abroad have brought wide experience to Mr. Lesage, including Canadian representative to the United Nations General Assembly 1950, President of the Canadian Delegation to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Geneva 1951 and again in May 1952 at New York, and President of the United Nations Technical Assistance Conference in Paris in February 1952.

It was on September 17, 1953 that Mr. Lesage was appointed Minister of Resources and Development and it will be remembered that very shortly afterwards the scope and importance of this post was emphasized by a change to the present name of Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, December 16, 1953.

Mr. Lesage will speak to us on "Canadian Resource Policy".

THE HON. JEAN LESAGE: In recent years Canadians have become far more conscious of Canada's natural resources than ever before in our history. This is largely because the tremendous post-war world demand for the products of land and sea, forest and mine has created in Canada one of the greatest surges of economic growth that the world has seen. The causes of the unprecedented demand for our resources are found in a rapidly growing world population and in a per capita demand constantly stimulated by technological developments. World demand in the post-war period has been intensified even more because it was not fully satisfied for a decade and a half owing first to the depression and then to war. Today there is every indication that this demand will continue to grow for many years.

The effect on Canada has been profound. It has fostered an economic expansion which impresses us for its variety and extent and for the development of natural resources which it has induced. Our forest industries, important in several regions for many decades, have expanded so far as to increase the utilization of our forests by sixty per cent since the 1930's. We have seen forest products become important for many segments of Canada's chemical industry, as for example in the manufacture of synthetics. Another industry many decades old, metal mining, has expanded markedly in twenty years, both as to the regions where mining is taking place and as to the variety of minerals produced. As a whole the volume of mineral production in Canada last year was nearly two and one-half times as great as it was in the years 1935-1939. The oil industry, unimportant before the Second World War, is now one of this country's greatest industrial enterprises. The discovery and exploitation since 1946 of the great oil fields of the prairie provinces has multiplied our production of petroleum seventeen times over. As consumption of petroleum products has risen so also have our demands for the other sources of energy required for Canada's economic growth. The development of our waterpower resources has proceeded so rapidly that the installed capacity of our hydro-electric plants had been more than doubled in two decades. The production of natural gas, already far greater than it was first a few years ago, will soon be much larger still. Now we are going ahead with Canada's first plant for the production of atomic power. Altogether it is with good reason that Canadians today have a keener appreciation than ever before of their natural wealth and a growing determination that their resources shall be wisely used.

The evil result of the unwise exploitation of some natural resources was headlined first during the Great Depression by drought and dust storms. It is all too easy to find other instances of the misuse of resources; we may point for example to the complete elimination of valuable forest areas such as the Ottawa Valley once contained. The consciousness of the need for the wise use of our resources has been intensified by our realization of the rapid rate at which we are now consuming them. To produce food for thirty million people, a population which this country might have before the present century is out, and at the same time, maintain our export trade, it will be necessary to make efficient use of all our known resources of agriculeure and fisheries. As for our forests, while only about one-half of the productive forest area which can be classed as accessible to commercial operation is now occupied under government licence or private ownership, the remaining half consists for the most part of forests of poorer quality and slower growth located in areas which would be relatively expensive to operate. It is on the occupied forest lands that the future of most of our established forest industries must continue to depend. There is reason to believe that the rate of timber depletion on such lands, taken as a whole, may be equal to or even greater than the annual growth in those forests. To cite facts like these is to bring out how far we have drawn, even at this early stage in our history, on this country's natural wealth.

Also we have come to realize that our present productivity and prosperity are not due to any innate virtue of our own. They are not due to any superiority over other peoples. But rather they are due to our having been endowed with the great and varied resources we have. As we have recognized that fact we have come to realize also that unless we handle those resources well, and unless we continue to have resources that are economically usable for decades to come, our productivity and prosperity will not go on unendingly. We know as we never knew before that it is our resources that have made our economy great.

Out of these considerations has developed a new interest in what is called “conservation ’; and the conservation of resources is unfortunately a subject about which a good deal of confusion and uncertainty exists. There is, it is true, a very general feeling that resource conservation is important and that much more remains to be done about it in Canada. Along with this, however, there is confusion as to what conservation really involves. There is also uncertainty as to how much is being done and should be done about it and whose responsibility it is in Canada. My purpose today is to attempt to suggest certain lines of approach which may help to dispel the uncertainty as to what our policies are or should be—and how they should be approached.

To begin with, confusion perhaps arises in part from the fact that the word “conservation” really does not fully express in every case the objectives we should strive for. The reason for this becomes clear when we classify natural resources by their two broad groupings, those which are renewable and those which are not. Applied to renewable resources such as land, forests and water, the term “conservation” appears to be not too inappropriate, for by definition “to conserve” means “to keep in safety, or from harm, decay or loss” or alternately “to preserve in its existing state from destruction or change.” It is certainly our desire not to let the soil deteriorate and not to use up our forests or our water resources faster than they can be replenished. It is probably because we were first of all thinking of these resources that we adopted the word “conservation’ . The position is entirely different for the non-renewable resources of metals and other mineral wealth, for, of course, it is not our aim to “preserve in their existing state” our underground stores of oil and gas and the orebodies containing iron and copper, lead, zinc and uranium. Our purpose is to put them to their almost endless uses. Thus even though it has been conveniently recognized that conservation means “wise use", I think I might cause less confusion if I talk instead about "resource management".

It is our interest to see to it that our resources are managed in such a fashion that each of them produces the greatest possible benefit of which it is capable. In judging how we are to reach this goal we properly begin by recognizing that it is not alone our own welfare that needs to be considered but even more that of future generations. What we may call the "time factor" applies to the management of both renewable and non-renewable resources: Resources which are renewable when they are used wisely may be irreplaceable once they are destroyed. It can happen too that succeeding generations are needlessly deprived of non-renewable resources. Thus if an oil well is drawn on too rapidly some of its potential is lost, while if a mine is abandoned when the high-grade ore has been taken out it may be difficult or impossible to open it up again for the ore of lower grade. There is another way in which the management of non-renewable resources requires that the perspective we adopt should be a long one. It calls for an assessment of the relationship between the demand and supply of these resources not only in today's world but also in the world of the future. Even though there can be no final answer to the question which this consideration raises, it is still important that the optimum use of Canada's mineral wealth be viewed in that light.

Because there is general agreement that resource management is of great importance in Canada, the suggestion is frequently heard that there should be "a national resource policy". What usually accompanies a recommendation of this kind is the implication that it is up to the federal government to produce and administer such a policy. Any such assumption, however, ignores the essentially federal character of this country. It ignores the distribution of governmental powers as between the federal government on the one hand and the provinces on the other. Partly, I think, we have trouble on the point because of terminology. Use of the term "resource management" in itself helps to point the lines of solution. To put it in its briefest form: if resources are to be "managed" who should do it? Surely the answer is that their management, as indeed that of any estate or property, rests basically and essentially with the person or party who owns it. In the field of resources in Canada that person or party is normally the province. Under the British North America Act each province has the ownership and full control of its lands, forests, mineral resources and water resources. There are, it is true, a few respects in which the federal government has some direct jurisdiction over resources. In the first place, both the provinces and the federal government can legislate in regard to agriculture. In practice, this has meant that the province usually legislates on local matters and the federal government on matters affecting the nation or more than one province. Secondly, the B.N.A. Act assigns to the federal government the responsibility for legislating on all fisheries, but the practice has grown up whereby that government legislates on *inland* fisheries according to the wishes of the province concerned. Finally, the federal government has responsibilities with regard to international streams and international waters, and for the natural resources of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory.

All of these cases are specific and limited exceptions to what is the general rule under our constitution. That rule is that the ownership and control of natural resources resides in the provinces. Because the provinces have the ownership of their natural resources—that is, until they choose to sell any of them to a private party—and because under the B.N.A. Act it is the province which has the right to legislate in respect to its resources, whether sold or unsold, it is obvious that the right and responsibility for determining the conditions and policies under which those resources will be developed lies with the provincial government. In Ontario it is the province of Ontario that owns the mineral resources and that lays down policy for their exploitation. In Quebec it is the province of Quebec that owns the forests and that determines policy for their cutting and use. In Alberta it is the province of Alberta that owns oil and gas and that lays down policy for their extraction and sale. Such a list could be extended through the entire catalogue of our natural resources. What I wish to stress is that the same situation prevails for each resource, subject to some specific qualifications which do not alter that basic fact. In each province it is the province that owns the resources and has jurisdiction over them.

The fact that it is the provinces that own and control natural resources generally does not, of course, mean that there is not an important federal interest, and an important federal role in resource policy. Included among the functions of the federal government are some which owing to their nature and their general application have profound significance for the use of resources across Canada. That government is responsible for promoting a high level of business activity and for fostering our foreign trade. It has recognized that the wise development of Canada's natural resources is basic, both to domestic economic activity and to a healthy export trade. For these and other reasons the interest which the federal government has in resource policy is a vital one. The federal government has, moreover, many ways in which it can affect the climate for resource development, and therefore many responsibilities which are, directly or indirectly, in the resource field.

There is tax policy. Income tax provisions offer encouragement to the development of resources by such means as write-offs for exploration and development and for forest fire protection and the exemption of new mines from taxation. On another front the general policy of low tariffs and the encouragement of Canada's export trade stimulates the development of resources that have a sound competitive basis and do not require undue protection to compensate for higher costs. By using its powers to make tariff agreements with foreign countries—or with groups of foreign countries as for example under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—the federal government tries to keep foreign tariffs low on Canadian raw materials in order to encourage the production of these materials for export.

Consider next transportation policy. Here the jurisdiction which the federal government has over freight rates enables it to assist certain regions and the production of certain commodities by such means as the Crows Nest Pass Rates, the annual "bridge" subsidy granted to the railways on the operation of their lines north of Lake Superior, the Maritime Freight Rates Act, and the policy of the equalization of freight rates. The development of the all-Canadian gas pipeline is an instance where transportation policy and federal action has had a profound effect on resource development. More than that the government has extended subsidies for railway construction to open up new regions and to encourage the development of new resources. The federal government has also instituted policies designed to assist particular industries or areas. Thus in recognition of the place which gold mining holds in the economic life of many communities it has since 1948 granted financial aid to most of Canada's gold mines under the Emergency Gold Mining Assistance Act. For many years it has paid subventions on specified coal movements, and has established support prices on some commodities to tide the industries concerned over difficult periods.

In addition to carrying out policies such as these the federal government has entered into cooperative agreements with provincial governments in the interest of resource management. The resources concerned in these arrangements are in each case under provincial control but the federal government contributes to their sound management by offering financial assistance for beneficial measures. By agreemeents made under the Canada Forestry Act which Parliament passed in 1949 many provinces have received aid of this kind in taking inventories of their forest resources and in providing for reforestation programs, and now for forest fire protection. Under another act, the Canada Water Conservation Assistance Act, the federal government is authorized to assist the provinces in the construction of dams and other works for water conservation and flood control. Again, under an agreement concluded with the Province of Alberta, federal funds have been contributed to the operations of the Eastern Rockies Forest Conservation Board, whose function is to provide for the protection of forests in an area forming part of the watershed of the Saskatchewan River with the object of obtaining the greatest possible flow of water in that river and its tributaries. To the Province of New Brunswick financial assistance has been provided in the battle against the spruce budworm, which had become a serious and growing menace to large forest areas in the northern part of that province.

Among the essential components of programs designed for resource management there is one which takes on special importance for the information it provides on the extent of our resources and on the methods by which they may be best used. I refer to the manifold contributions of science. For many years now the scientific services supported by the federal government have been conducting a broad and varied program of technical surveys and research with the object of improving resource development and management. Responsibility for this work rests with many departments of government.

The Department of Agriculture has its Experimental Farms and Science Service to which agriculture in Canada owes an incalculable debt for the new strains of wheat they have developed, for their studies of land use, their investigations into insect and weed control, and their continuous investigation of scores of problems. The inland and ocean fisheries of Canada have derived substantial benefits from the scientific investigations of the Fisheries Research Board. The Department of Mines and Technical Surveys has the responsibility for a wide range of scientific investigations. The Mines Branch calls chemistry and physics into service to study the composition of rocks, methods of treating numerous types of ores and problems linked with the efficient use of metals and other minerals. The Geological Survey of Canada, over the years has extended its operation across the face of Canada, reaching even into the remote vastnesses of the

Queen Elizabeth Islands in the farthest north. The results of its surveys are set out in geological maps which indicate the promise which any one area may have as a source of mineral wealth.

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources is engaged in basic investigations relating to our resources of forests and water. The Forestry Branch engages in forest research to develop scientific methods of forest management which are made available to the provinces and to industry. Forest Products Laboratories in Ottawa and Vancouver study the properties of fifty-two species of woods used by Canadian industry to determine both the best woods for various uses and the best uses for various woods.

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources is also concerned with the measurement of Canada's water resources. The Water Resources Branch has been compiling records of stream flow and water levels from 1,200 stations on rivers, lakes and streams across Canada. Its records, and others like them, are fundamental to the planning, construction and operation of all water-use projects. The unprecedented expansion that our hydro-electric capacity has undergone in recent years would have been much more difficult and uncertain without them.

Finally, a branch of the federal government which I must mention for its research on the development and wise use of our resources is the National Research Council. Its research in many fields is of great importance for the better use of the resources we have available.

I should like next to refer to action which the federal government has taken in areas where it exercises joint jurisdiction with the provinces. There is, first, the action taken under the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, which was passed in 1935 to provide for the restoration of substantial areas in the three prairie provinces. This act is still in effect and activities under it relate to land culture practices, land utilization, and water development. The Department of Agriculture provides funds and direction for the construction of water reservoirs, for economic and soil surveys, for land classification, and for the provision of illustration stations to demonstrate the proper use of land. Work of a parallel kind has been accomplished under the Maritime Marshlands Rehabilitation Act to deal with the deterioration of the dykes and other structures whose protection enabled the marshlands of the Maritime Provinces to rank among the most productive soils in Canada.

There are also resource fields which lie solely within federal jurisdiction. One of these concerns the fisheries of Canada. It is the responsibility of the Departmtent of Fisheries to protect, control and develop fish stocks. Increasingly in recent years these activities have been extended to the international fisheries and agreements have been concluded for their protection and development for the benefit of Canada.

The federal government has jurisdiction over the Northwest Territories and the Yukon and owns and administers the resources in these territories. The Department of Northern Affairs has as one of its chief functions, the promotion and the further economic progress of these territories. The importance of this responsibility may be measured by the fact that the two territories together make up almost forty percent of the land and fresh water area of Canada and that their economic potential, particularly as a source of mineral wealth, gives every promise of being commensurate with their size.

By its action in all the fields I have mentioned the federal government can and does have a profound effect upon the character and tempo of resource development in Canada. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact with which I started. That fact is the direct and immediate control over the management of the resources themselves, within any province, reside with the provincial government.

There remains the further fact that in Canada, under our free economic system, a third agency is also involved in resource management and development. That is private enterprise. It can be said, indeed, that the main responsibility—and opportunity—for the development of any particular resource lies with private industry. For this reason industry has a major responsibility for the wise use of natural resources, always, of course, within the framework of provincial legislation and resources policy and within the general climate created by federal policies and federal assistanc.

I believe it true to say that few people question that much has been done in Canada, especially in recent years, to encourage wise resource management. What they do ask is whether there is any coordination in our resource policy or whether it is done instead on a "hit or miss" basis. As they consider this question some honestly ask whether a conference of all interested parties would not be helpful in forming what might be termed a "master plan". I myself do not see that such a conference could accomplish anything very helpful. I say this because there is in fact no lack of unanimity or clarity as to what the objectives of a resource policy should be. Rather problems arise only when it comes to determining how to reach this objective in each specific case. Because each of these problems always includes elements peculiar to itself they cannot be settled by any "master plan". Instead, each case has to be considered on its own merits, that is, in relation to the particular resource in question, the locality, and the respective interests of each party. I should like, in this connection, to make the point that there is far more frequent discussion between industry, the federal government and the provincial governments on specific resource management problems than Canadians commonly realize. It just happens to be the case that these meetings are not considered to be newsworthy and are therefore given little publicity.

The central fact is this, that while consultations on cooperative federal-provincial measures usually are specific rather than general in character—usually relating to a particular resource and to particular action to develop or manage it, or relating even to specific problems of one resource in one area—this specific and limited approach dose *not* mean that resource policy in Canada is simply an untidy mass of "ad hockery". On the contrary, in a broad sense there is an underlying agreement on the fundamentals of resource management. There is agreement that this management should provide for the best use of resources that is possible in the public interest; agreement that renewable resources should be managed in such a way that they shall be renewed in perpetuity; that the development of Canada's resources should be economic; and finally that the best means of ensuring this economic development is, in general, to have it undertaken by private enterprise. Taken together these fundamentals create a large and basic constituency in resource management.

To go beyond that, however, to try to impose an over-all blueprint, a "National Policy", as some understand it, for resource management—to do that is to depart from the facts of our national situation. I have suggested already why such a "master plan" must fail of its purpose. In a country as vast as Canada, with widely different conditions and with different problems in different areas, there cannot be a single and unified policy for the management of resources. The fact that the B.N.A. Act places resources under the control of the provinces is not a matter of accident or coincidence, it is rather a reflection of the basic facts of our national existence. Resource problems are generally regional problems or local problems and must be handled on a regional or local basis. Thus it is that the facts dictate, and our constitution requires, that our resource management be in the hands of the provinces. This is the framework and the background in which we must see the problems of resource management and development in Canada. Accordingly, to advocate a "national policy" on a national basis as a responsibility of the national government is to misread the facts of our economy and the spirit and letter of our constitution.

What resource management in Canada *does* call for is wise and constructive handling. It *does* call for careful thought and planning. And if we are to have it we need first to know as far as we can just how large and varied our resources are, for otherwise intelligent planning for their use must remain beyond our reach. The next step is to relate the extent of these resources to the demands on them which are forecast for the years ahead. One of the most important functions of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, the Gordon Commission, established by the federal government has been to undertake just such a forecast. Its assessment of the future demand for the products of land, mine and forest will provide an invaluable basis for resource planning. It will be of great assistance to the provinces in their management programs and also to private enterprise. The work of the Gordon Commission therefore has immense importance for all who have responsibilities for the management of Canada's natural resources.

There is yet another prerequisite for sound resource management, and that is that the Canadian people be educated to appreciate the necessity and value of this planning to the nation. Here I should like to pay tribute to the contributions which many private and semi-private organizations have made to this public education, and also to their accomplishments in resource planning itself.

Resource management, then, *does* call for careful thought and planning. It calls for this, however, not in any one place and by one agency dealing with it as a single problem. Instead it calls for action by the provinces to carry out their responsibility for resource management as such. It calls for action by the federal government in the many fields to which I have referred. And it calls for foresight and wise management by private enterprise in its field of efficient and economic development.

It is in this sense and in this way that we can effectively plan and act for the best use of the great resources that are at the disposal of the Canadian people.

THANKS OF THE MEETING was expressed by Brigadier Colin Campbell, D.S.O., O.B.E.

Christmas Meeting

With

ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL CHORISTERS

Under the direction of

RT. REV. J. E. RONAN, D.P., M.C.G.

Tuesday, December 18th, 1956

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: The Christmas Party has always been a great occasion for the Empire Club of Canada and today we are happy to welcome many family parties, a great many ladies and other guests. In the joyful confusion which reigns at this time of the year, we feel our hearts open to give and receive goodwill and understanding. I am sure that our party today has contributed in full measure to the uplifting of spirits. Our hosts at the Royal York have provided excellent fare, the traditional Turkey and Plum Pudding served with due pomp and ceremony. I am sure that I voice the feelings of all present when I say thank you to all who have taken part in serving such a fine banquet.

And now we come to the part of the programme we have been anticipating with the keenest pleasure—the presentation of the St. Michael's Cathedral Choristers by their Director, Monsignor J. E. Ronan.

I was intrigued to learn that while still a young Priest, the Director was asked to form a choir at St. Michael's Cathedral and that this small beginning has blossomed into the famous choir we shall hear today. Many of the first choristers are men singers now and there are cases of father and son fellow-choristers. The Choir grew into a Choir School and as enrolment increased it was necessary to have a special building. His Eminence Cardinal McGuigan made this possible at the time of his elevation as a Prince of the Church when he turned over for the purpose, a generous purse which had been presented to him. This was the start of the campaign fund and in the building today there is a school of some 180 boys.

St. Michael's School of Sacred Music is affiliated with the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music at Rome by a decree received on May 9th, 1955 and has the power to grant degrees of Bachelor of Sacred Music, Bachelor of Gregorian Chant, Bachelor of Sacred Organ and Bachelor of Sacred Composition. Such are the fruits of years of dedicated service performed by Monsignor Ronan.

I have much pleasure in calling upon our distinguished guest Monsignor Ronan to present the St. Michael's Cathedral Choristers.

— THE CHOIR SANG —

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mrs. Roland Mitchener.

"A CENTER OF CONFIDENCE"

An Address by

LESTER L. COLBERT
President of the Chrysler Corporation of Detroit.

Thursday, January 10th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: Distinguished Guests and Members of the Empire Club of Canada.

We are privileged today to have a visit from one of America's top executives, the President of Chrysler Corporation of Detroit, Michigan, Mr. Lester L. Colbert. Born and educated in Texas he bought and sold spot cotton to pay for his education at the University of Texas and to go on to the Haward University Law School graduating in 1929. He practised law in New York with the firm which is general counsel for Chrysler Corporation and soon attracted the attention of Walter P. Chrysler, founder and President of the Chrysler Corporation. So in July 1933 the young lawyer moved to Detroit as resident attorney, dealt with labour relations and served on the Operations Committee. The climb which was to lead to the Presidency was by way of a Vice-Presidency of Dodge Brothers Corporation and of several subsidiaries of Chrysler Corporation, a two-year stint at night-school, three nights a week studying machine operations and blueprint reading, general management in 1943 of the Dodge-Chicago plant which turned out engines for B.29 Superfortresses, and the Presidency of the Dodge Division in December 1945. Elected a Vice-President and director of Chrysler Corporation in September 1949, Mr. Colbert became President in November 1950.

Everyone of us knows that Chrysler favours the "Forward Look" and the Empire Club is delighted that this involved among other things the appointment of Mr. Ron Todgham, a native of Toronto, as President of Chrysler Corporation of Canada Ltd. We are delighted to have Mr. Todgham here today at the head table with Mr. Colbert. It is encouraging to reflect also that Mr. E. C. Row, his predecessor in Windsor, now holds the key job of Administrative Vice-President in Detroit.

A thumbnail sketch of our guest speaker would be incomplete without mention of the fact that he is married and has three children, he plays golf and grows flowers in the summertime, maintains a home in Texas where he relaxes twice a year and, wonder of wonders, he takes a long walk every night before going to bed.

Mr. Colbert has titled his address "a Center of Confidence".—Mr. Colbert.

MR. COLBERT: You members of the Empire Club of Canada are to be congratulated on your program chairman. That man is a very long range planner. It was at least seven months ago that I was honored by your invitation to speak here today.

At that time—to all outward appearances—the world was in a relatively settled condition. There were clouds on the horizon, but they were the same ones we had been looking at for quite a while. A lot of people were beginning to think that maybe the international situation had settled down into a kind of atomic stalemate, and that for an indefinite period we would be engaged in a primarily economic competition between the free world and the communist countries. The communist bloc looked pretty solid and wasn't showing any cracks.

We all knew the Middle East was loaded with potential trouble, but few of us expected anything like the developments of the last two months.

In that kind of world it seemed logical and appropriate to come over here and talk with you about the tremendous economic promise of your country and mine—without becoming too concerned with international complications.

Today the world scene presents new problems that none of us can ignore. In recent months we have become aware of new dangers as well as new opportunities. We are confronted with a world situation loaded with menace and hope. Few, if any of us claim that we can see a way through the tangle.

In spite of my own perplexity, however, in recent weeks I have arrived at one clear conclusion—a conclusion that must occur to every other businessman who sits down at his desk every morning to carry on with his regular duties. That conclusion is that with the world in its present state, the greatest contribution the working citizen can make to bringing about the kind of peaceful world we all want is to get on with his own job and do it to the best of his ability. This is one way all of us can help to preserve strength and stability in the free world.

And from this thought comes another that is closely related. Canada and the United States are functioning now—as they have for close to two decades—as the economic heart of the free world. Our two countries certainly cannot claim a monopoly, or anything like it, on sound democratic institutions or on devotion to political freedom.

We both owe our free political institutions to the great democratic tradition of England. Other lands have also made their contributions. And the inspiring demonstration of courage by the Hungarian freedom fighters against overwhelming odds is new evidence that the willingness to fight and die for freedom is a universal trait and not the exclusive possession of any one people or group of peoples. And let's hope their tragic sacrifice will not have been in vain.

We in Canada and the United States have been endowed with tremendous natural resources, including climate, inland waterways, soil, and mineral resources. And by a fortunate combination of events we have been left free to work out on this continent the world's most dynamic way of doing business. We have become the economic prime movers of the modern world.

And together—in great part because of our economic power and economic potential — we constitute a center of confidence for the free world. This center of confidence can continue to be a rallying point and a source of moral and material strength. And the stronger and more productive we are, the more effectively we will demonstrate to the world the power of freedom—and the faster the forces of discontent and revolt will work to destroy the communist tyranny.

We in Detroit have had a very down-to-earth reminder in recent weeks of the confidence which the world places in your great and growing Canadian economy. Living as we do just across the Detroit River from Windsor, we are very much aware that your Canadian dollar now carries a four per cent premium over ours. This premium on the Canadian dollar—resulting as it has in large part from the flow of funds into Canada from other countries—is the clearest possible indication of the confidence which the world has in Canada and its future. We in the United States share that confidence. No country gives greater promise of continued strength and stability. And, incidentally, no country treats investors from outside its borders with greater consideration and fairness.

We at Chrysler have enjoyed doing business in Canada since 1925. In that year Chrysler of Canada was established simultaneously with Chrysler Corporation in the United States. In the first year, Chrysler of Canada produced 2,349 passenger cars. In the year 1956 it produced 92,354 passenger cars. But this is not the only way to measure its growth. Right along with the increase in production, our Canadian company has expanded to many times its original size in number of employees, number of dealers, number of suppliers, and in the extent of its investment in physical facilities.

At the present time, Chrysler of Canada employs 11,000 people. It sells its cars and trucks through 1200 independent dealers, who employ over 20,000 people and have a total investment of close to 80 million dollars in their own businesses. And in 1956 it bought about 150 million dollars worth of components, materials and services from approximately 450 Canadian suppliers, who in turn employ many thousands of people.

In the last three years we have invested 55 million dollars in new plants and equipment in Canada. Among the most important additions to our Canadian facilities are a new plant for the production of V-8 engines, the most advanced installation of its kind in Canada; a doubling of the size of our assembly plant; a new administration building; and a number of other buildings, including warehouses, regional sales offices, and a new experimental engineering laboratory.

It may be of interest to you that the staff of Chrysler of Canada is made up overwhelmingly of people born and raised in Canada. That goes right from the top down, starting with Ron Todgham, president of the company. Of the last sixty people appointed to executive positions in the organization, it happens that only one was a United States citizen.

The cars and trucks we assemble in Canada are made up in great part of components produced by Canadian firms. The only parts imported from plants in the United States are frames, major body stampings, and automatic transmissions. Everything else, from batteries to sparkplugs, from tires to upholstery, and from engines to steering wheels, is made in Canada.

The day may come when our Canadian plants will supply our plants in the United States with some of their components. At present this is not happening. I would like to say, however, that Chrysler Corporation has recently made one import from Chrysler of Canada that we consider very important to the future of our business. Last summer we persuaded Ed Row, who had been president of Chrysler of Canada since 1951, to come across the river and become our administrative vice-president. We are confident that the skill with which he built a strong Canadian organization and kept it moving ahead in the business is going to be a key factor in making gains against our competition in the United States.

In the last three years Chrysler of Canada has made sizable gains in its share of the Canadian automobile market—and its plans to go right on making gains.

Chrysler of Canada has been increasing its manufacturing and distributing facilities and strengthening its organization steadily in the confident anticipation of excellent future markets for cars and trucks. For one thing, your population is growing so fast that by 1985, at the present rate of growth, there will be nearly 32 million Canadians—about twice as many as there are at present. And I don't need to tell you that this fast increase in your population is being caused in great part by the inflow of people who have decided to cast their lot with Canada and its future.

Besides the rapid growth of the Canadian population, however, there is the equally important fact that family incomes are rising and will continue to rise with the rapid development now taking place in the country. No businessman today—either in Canada or the United States—is basing his plans on a straight-line increase of demand in direct proportion to the growth of population. Living standards in a dynamic economy like Canada's have a way of increasing even faster than the population, and all of us have to plan for the future with those rising standards in mind.

During the past year it has been very impressive to see the Canadian automotive industry scoring gains over its production in 1955, which was the biggest previous year on the books. In most years the production of cars and trucks in Canada has paralleled roughly the ups and downs of automotive production in the United States. But 1956 was a big exception. With the production of motor vehicles in the States down nearly 25 per cent from the all-time high of 1955, Canada's automotive production showed a healthy gain of about four per cent over 1955. Maybe this is the tip-off to the start of a long period of steady expansion. Let's hope so.

I don't want to give you the impression that in the United States the automobile industry has slowed down to a walk—or that from now on we are going to be satisfied with producing on a replacement basis. Far from it. We may not triple the number of passenger cars on our roads in the next thirty years, as you people in Canada are likely to do, but we are looking for a very healthy growth. And from your point of view this can only be good news, considering the tonnages of Canadian metals that go into our cars every year.

One of our basic reasons for optimism about the long-range future of the automobile business in the United States is the rate of growth of our population. Just recently one of our leading experts on population said that if the present trend toward younger marriages and bigger families continues, by 1975 there will be 249 million people in the United States. That would be an increase of nearly 80 million in the next 18 years!

More people, more families, more teen-agers, more suburban living, higher incomes—all these things will continue to create demands for cars. And, in addition, demand is being created by the kind of cars the industry is designing and building. I won't take advantage of this occasion to tell you about all the features of the new Chrysler Corporation cars, which have been making so much news on both sides of the border. Let me simply invite you to examine them for yourselves, and by all means drive one of them.

Taking all these things into consideration, by 1965 we could see an average annual market of something like 8 million new cars a year. And during the later nineteen-sixties some years could possibly even reach 10 million cars.

The meaning for Canadian industry of these high levels of production is very clear. Consider, for example, the amount of aluminum being used in a contemporary automobile. At Chrysler Corporation alone we buy close to 100 million pounds of aluminum a year. It may be of some interest to you that our new 1957 cars contain an average of 100 pounds of aluminum for each four-door sedan as compared with an average of 75 pounds for our 1956 models and an average for the industry of 45 pounds for all 1957 models. The use of aluminum may increase at an even faster pace in the future as the result of new techniques of precision die-casting now being developed. Until quite recently, aluminum die castings were limited to parts weighing 8 to 10 pounds. New techniques have made castings of 75 pounds entirely feasible. With this new art developing so fast, it is feasible to look forward to die-cast automotive engine blocks made of aluminum and alloyed with zinc and weighing less than a hundred pounds.

The automobile industry is not the only part of the United States economy that is using increasing amounts of aluminum. Fortune Magazine reported just recently that the yearly per capita consumption of aluminum in the United States has risen from three and a half pounds in 1947 to twenty-four pounds today. And by 1965 it is expected to reach forty pounds a year.

The use by industry in the United States of aluminum and the whole range of metals produced in Canada—nickel, iron, uranium, cobalt, titanium and many others—is only one way in which our two economies are linked together in the most dynamic combination of economic activities in the history of the world. This relationship has its frictions and its problems, and there would be very little point in my standing here today and trying to pretend they just don't exist. The healthy thing is to talk about them realistically, and with as much objectivity as possible.

In recent months we on our side of the border have heard a number of excellent speeches by eminent Canadians on the subject of investments in Canada by firms in the United States. These men have given us some very straight talk. All of us have been impressed by the frankness as well as the fairness of their approach. They have mentioned the fact that investment funds from the United States have a stabilizing influence on Canada's balance of payments. They have described in some detail the effect of United States investments on the filling out, the diversifying, the broadening of the Canadian economy. They have taken pains to make clear how Canada, through these investments, benefits from the technical and scientific resources of American industry. And they have pointed out that in spite of the very sizable amounts of capital flowing into Canada from the United States and the rest of the world, Canada is financing three-fourths of her own capital needs.

They have also reminded us in the United States that Canada is a sovereign nation—that even if the border is so invisible as to seem non-existent, Canada has her own objectives as a nation which she intends to reach in her own way. And they have made specific and courteous suggestions to United States companies with operations in Canada regarding the participation of Canadians in those operations. From what I have said today I think you will agree that we at Chrysler have anticipated some of the suggestions of these distinguished men, and I assure you that we are taking all of their suggestions into consideration in planning our course in Canada for the future.

Sound working relationships between Canada and the United States are vital to the future of our great economic partnership. And it is important to the future stability and security of the free world that this partnership remain strong, so that together, through the normal course of trade and investment, we can help set in motion in other parts of the free world the same forces that have made our own countries so productive.

Each one of us looks at the world from his own point of vantage. And I, naturally, think of all the constructive developments that may take place when people in other parts of the world begin to use the motor vehicle as we have used it on this continent. A very impressive mass of facts can be assembled to demonstrate that motor transport and all the activities associated with it constitute the heart of our dynamic North American economy. On a recent trip to Europe I saw on all sides the widespread economic effects of the recent rapid expansion of the automobile industry. And it is pretty safe to predict that as the passenger car and truck come into wider use in the underdeveloped countries of the world, economic growth will receive a similar stimulation.

There is some real hope that we may be in the very early stages of a world-wide automotive revolution of the kind we have seen in our own countries. According to the International Road Federation, motor vehicle registration has at least doubled in every major geographic area since 1940. In Latin America and Asia the number of cars and trucks has tripled in the same period—but the number to start with was of course very small. India, with a population of close to 400 million, still has only slightly more than 300,000 motor vehicles. And China, with 600 million people, has only 120,000 cars, trucks and buses. But here and there real progress is being made. In Turkey, in the Union of South Africa, in Venezuela and many other countries, roads are being built at a very high rate and the motor vehicle population is rising rapidly. Because it will lead to economic growth of all kinds, this increasing use of motor vehicles means opportunity for every other kind of business with trade or investment activities in other parts of the world.

The ability to export private capital from this continent in anything like the amounts demanded by an expanding world economy is going to require steady expansion of our two great economies on a sound and stable basis. Right now one of the most serious problems on our side of the border is the control of inflation. Demands for goods and services of all kinds—combined with the highest levels of personal income on record—are pushing our economy right up against its top limits of performance. After enjoying several years of remarkable stability in the value of the dollar, we now find prices creeping upward. Controlling inflation—without starting a trend toward deflation—is going to continue to require steady hands in Washington. And it is up to us in business to give solid support to the efforts of our government officials as long as their programs are aimed at encouraging a big volume of sound business.

To keep the economies of Canada and the United States expanding steadily and soundly is also going to require sound and confident forward planning by private business. Contemporary business management in Canada as well as the United States has come to look upon planning as one of its most important functions. The higher the level of management, the more preoccupied it must be with the shape of things to come. The fundamental responsibility of top business management is to make sure the long-range objectives of an organization are consistent with the long-term possibilities of its own national economy and with the society in which the organization lives and develops. When private business managements in Canada and the United States take the long view, they help to build stability and confidence throughout the world.

The present world situation calls for foresightedness; patience and restraint on the part of all of us who help to get work done in this part of the world. That means just about everybody—in business, government, the professions, labor and agriculture. In these troubled times the big job for both our countries is to keep strong and keep moving ahead. Every one of us is part of this great effort. And we can all take satisfaction from the knowledge that what we do from day to day is helping to build strength and confidence here at the heart of the free world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING was expressed by Mr. Arthur Inwood.

"THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST"

An Address by

BRIGADIER CLAUDE H. DEWHURST, O.B.E

Thursday, January 17th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: Our guest speaker is well known to Canadian audiences and in general he needs no introduction from me. I feel, however, that we should examine his credentials to see just how well qualified he is to speak on what is undoubtedly the most controversial and vital issue of the present day.

Claude H. Dewhurst joined the Regular Army in Britain in the year 1929 and remained in the service until 1954. During that time he worked in Intelligence and Diplomatic work in 47 countries and in the process learned to speak five languages. During the war he fought in the Middle East and earned among other decorations the O.B.E. Key appointments served to give him an unrivalled knowledge of the Middle East and I ask you to note especially the following:— Intelligence Officer for the Suez Canal, aide to Palestine's last High Commissioner, appointment to the War Cabinet offices in London, Deputy Head of Middle East Intelligence 1946-8, Military Attache at Belgrade, Yugoslavia 1948-51, Chief of the British Mission to East Germany accredited to Marshal Chuikov at Potsdam 1951-3, and after his resignation in 1954 BBC Balkan Correspondent.

Since settling down in Toronto he has been Foreign Editorial writer for the Telegram, lecturer in all major cities of the United States, author, radio and TV personality. His books, "Limelight for Suez"; "Close Contact with the Russians" (a best seller in five languages) and "The Soviets: What's Their Line" will be followed by others as he still writes not only books but magazine articles.

We are indeed fortunate in having such an eminently well qualified speaker to address us on "The Struggle For the Middle East". Brigadier Dewhurst.

BRIGADIER DEWHURST: I am going to talk today about the Middle East Struggle and I am going to offend quite a lot of people in this room because I am not a politician like Your Worship here, I have no religious strings like my Lord Bishop, I have no economic strings like many of you in this room, and I have few commercial ties with the business world!

So I want to give an independent view of the Middle East based on 10 years I had out there and later on in planning Middle East Affairs at the War Cabinet Offices, and a visit there quite recently. I want to raise some pride in you to start with.

The Middle East really has been Great Britain's baby. She founded it and there is a lot to be proud of in what has been accomplished in the Middle East. If you start on the left with Syria and Lebanon . . . we helped them to their independence, assisting to get the French out who had done a very good job there, but had perhaps overstayed their leave . . . (to the French Consul-General) . . . I'm sorry, sir, for so speaking of France! We founded the borders of Iraq and we discovered oil in Iraq. We also discovered oil in Persia nearby and we defended Persia many vital times in her recent history.

Further down Israel or Palestine was carved out by us and its birth announced by Lord Balfour of Great Britain, so that Jews throughout the world owe to Great Britain's inspiration the fact that Israel exists. Across the border in Jordan is a country founded by Britain. The king was put there by England, and the last King, Amir Abdullah, was a very enlightened fellow. In Saudi Arabia again the old King Ibn Saud, whom I had the pleasure of meeting, was an extraordinarily wise fellow. And he gradually became rich—first of all from subventions Britain gave him and later on from the greater discovery of oil by the United States. His son now rules.

As for Egypt, the one country that has turned most against us, that is the one we have done the most for. Without Britain's backing the great dams on the Nile would not be there; her health would not be bettered as it has been over the last 25 years; the railways would not run, because we laid down the railways. We defended the Suez Canal. We defended the borders of Egypt against Fascists first, and later against Nazis. We gave her a decent little army. We gave her a corrupt-free Civil Service. All this we gave her and we were proud of Egypt, as we were of the Sudan to the South. We had nothing to be ashamed of in the world "imperialism" at all, although the term "Imperialist" is now used as a cliché by Communists and has, unfortunately, permeated in its bad sense to a lot of our friends.

We have a lot to be proud about in the setup that Great Britain gave to the Middle East and, after giving this to the Middle East she withdrew, mostly in her own time leaving good governments behind, sometimes a little hastened by national aspirations and the clamor for nationalist governments, and occasionally, and unfortunately, under prodding from her good friends in the U.S. For instance, she had to leave Palestine prematurely. I was deputy head of Intelligence there and I know very well how our High Commissioners strove to their utmost to develop that country, commensurate with a reasonable number of Jews coming into it, but when the U.S. supported a limitless number of Jews coming to that country and a policiy of—shall I call it—forcibly overcrowding Palestine, it was impossible for Britain to hold the Mandate any longer. So she handed it back and I thereupon closed my books and wrote on top "This Means War", and there has been war ever since.

In Egypt, too, we were prodded out unduly hurriedly. I know the officers who negotiated the Suez "Get-Out" Agreement, and the Egyptians were quite agreeable to the extra 18 months which we wanted to see that enormous depot with $160 million worth of equipment properly safeguarded and arranged to take over. But under U.S. prodding we got out 18 months earlier, and in that precise 18 months the most calamitous events took place.

And had we followed this prodding to its ultimate, we would be out of Cyprus now. There would be war in Cyprus with EOKA, with the Communists or the Turks against the Greeks, and there would probably be intervention from one Major Power or another.

So that in a nutshell, is, as an Englishman sees it, the history of the Middle East to date.

Now the Middle East, to most people who haven't been there means just oil. Yet there are certain 'have-not' countries—There are, in fact, three 'have-not' countries who have no oil; they are Egypt, Syria and Jordan. They may get money through pipelines passing through them but they do not have the wells. And as a result it is precisely those three countries who are the mischiefmakers, headed by Egypt, who wishes to form a military confederation to ring around and overcome Israel.

Now Egypt is, of course, one of the greatest Imperialist countries in the world. It wishes to extend the old Caliphate of its past Imperialism throughout the Middle East, though it has no oil revenue to support this struggle. As a result it has considered, under Colonel Nasser, that the best way to do this is by military prowess. . . . A prowess difficult to come by because the Egyptian army is one of the most hopeless fighting instruments I have ever come across. But they hope to do this by military prowess, and as a result it is essential to have an objective for their army. It is no use having an army if it has no possible objective, with the result that Egypt is undoubtedly interested in keeping vast crowds of Palestinian refugees as a warlike thorn in the Middle East flesh, and particularly in not coming to terms with Israel—though we know that certain other countries in the Middle East would be perfectly willing to see an advantageous peace signed with Israel.

But what does Egypt *really* need? Not what Colonel Nasser thinks it needs. We know the Middle East very well; Britain has been there for a century and we know precisely what Egypt needs. She needs three things. . . .

She needs health. . . . The whole of Egypt is infected with a disease from the Nile waters called Bilharzia which shortens your life by 10 years and ravages your kidneys and liver. Everyone not living in a town where there is piped water is weakened by Bilharzia, a cure of which must be found and will cost millions and millions of dollars. Secondly, all children suffer from Trachoma, which is an eye disease—a debilitating disease from which every child in Egypt, almost without exception, suffers.

Next she requires Education. . . . The standard of education is appalling. If you had been around like me in almost every village—and there are I think over 1600 in Egypt—you would be appalled at the complete and utter lack of education. I don't believe much in higher education myself, for reasons we won't go into now, but at any rate there must be elementary education, and there is still none at all in the greater part of Egypt.

Finally it needs Irrigation. . . . It doesn't need irrigation to raise the standard of living as many people think. It needs irrigation—that is to say the new Aswan Dam —merely to keep abreast of the existing population increase. By the time the Aswan Dam is built, if it ever is, at a cost of 1.3 billion dollars, in 10 years' time the Egyptian population will have increased so greatly that the Aswan Dam will only just provide the needs of that new generation. So don't think it is going to give so much arable land that Egypt will become a rich country. It has to try and stabilize the appalling situation which the birth rate will bring about very shortly. And so anyone who is planning, any Egyptian who rises to a predominant position to plan for the good of his country, must plan long-terms over 25 years—Health; Education and Irrigation.

Of course, this does not suit dictators. There is nothing triumphant, nothing notable, nothing glittering which the population likes about it, and as a result Britain gradually learned, as she had guessed when Nasser first came up through the army to his present position, that he would be just the sort of man that he is.

Great Britain does not like Nasser. Yes it's perfectly true; and with good reason. She doesn't like Nasser for the following reasons:—

> Under that Suez Agreement where we had to get out 18 months prematurely, there was no reason why there should have been this hustle and bustle, unless there was something behind it; and we have learned now that Nasser had planned the seizure of the Suez Canal two years in advance.
>
> Over Israel and her appeal to the United Nations, we saw that Nasser was not interested in a peace with Israel. We saw that, in 1951, when the United Nations ordered Israeli ships to go through the Canal, that Egypt refused permission to let them through.
>
> Thirdly, we saw that, over the Refugee problem, which is at the bottom of all the Palestinian troubles, that he is not interested in solving, or accepting, in getting other members of the Arab League to accept, or even putting to the Arab League the question of how many of these Refugees could be absorbed in the various countries in the Middle East.
>
> Fourthly, there were meant to be free elections in the Sudan with neither side, Britain or Egypt, interfering. But Nasser did interfere in a big way and also in a stupid way. He sent down, for instance, Colonel Salem to dance in his underpants to natives who were, it transpired, more affronted than encouraged!
>
> Fifthly, over the Aswan Dam, when the negotiations had been going on for some two years, we and the Americans found that we were being doublecrossed. All the time there was Egyptian talk about Russian gold coming in, with constant movements backwards and forwards to the Soviet Ambassador's house. In fact, nothing was going on, and when we called his bluff the Soviets threw in their hand and said—"We haven't really been negotiating at all". He was doublecrossing us, and he doublecrossed us over the arms deal. Those arms were meant to be

> 5 or 6 million dollars' worth coming from Czechoslovakia—in his words as an "ordinary commercial deal". It later turned out that the cost was running into tens even hundreds of millions, and coming straight from the Soviet Union by agreement.
>
> And, finally, if we were left in any doubt as to what he intended for the so-called betterment of his country, we found it in a speech made to a crowd of rabble he said—"I will lead you from Triumph to Triumph", and we asked ourselves from which "Triumph" and to which "Triumph" because there were then only two "Triumphs" left? One was the seizure of the Suez Canal, which took place a fortnight later, and the other is the ultimate triumph over Isreal, which he reckons will finally put him at the head of the Middle East world.

And so we have learned about Nasser with hard lessons and are more than aggravated that he should have been the blue-eyed boy of the Americans for such a long time, because we have learned to be disillusioned by Arabs, but the Americans, I regret to say, have not.

Now my job in the Middle East for 10 years was the acquisition of Intelligence, and I am quite confident that what is going on *now* in the field of acquisition of Intelligence in the Middle East is of the very, very highest order.

I have tried to put together in a few words, how the plot of Russia in the Middle East was unfolded to our Intelligence. Indeed, it can be accurately traced, day by day, starting on a Tuesday. The first thing to happen, as agreed with the Soviet Ambassador in Cairo, was the seizure of the Suez Canal and immediately after the seizure of the Suez Canal Jordan was to denounce her treaty with Great Britain. Within three days a Confederation of Egypt, Syria and Jordan—the "have-not" countries that encircled Israel—was to be announced under an Egyptian commander. Within a day or two of this three attacks were meant to be launched; not on one front, but three fronts.

The Egyptian front would have had amongst it some 1600 Soviet technicians to man the new types of tanks, rocket-firing apparatus and certain aircraft, while Syria was to have aircraft from the Soviet Union flown in at high altitudes for that short campaign. Jordan was merely to stage a diversion to get the Israelis to cross over the river Jordan so that the matter could be immediately referred to the United Nations. If either side had referred to the United Nations, then, of course, the Soviet Union was there to block it with her veto.

If you know the geography of Palestine, you know that you can get from one side to the sea in half an hour; you will know that 16 miles is sometimes the proximity of Arab land to the sea across Israel and that the whole of its configuration is such that a three-pronged attack would quickly have cut it into three. It was reckoned we don't know precisely how long) that within about a week Israel would have succumbed to these attacks and it would have taken quite a week before the United Nations met, before the Security Council met, vetoed and referred the question to the General Assembly, with counterclaims from Arabs and Jews to work out meanwhile. By that time Israel would not have existed!

This Intelligence information was available, and had for some time been available, but speed and secrecy were what was essential to thwart this Soviet-inspired plan and to prevent the first step happening, and, secondly, not to let the people know that counter-action was about to take place.

Now the Israelis were the ones most immediately threatened, and they were the ones who at once beat the pistol by saying: "Before this happens we will hold Jordan, we will hold Syria but we will launch an attack on Egypt, for we know the stamina of her army and we believe it can be defeated within a fortnight". Actually they defeated it within five days.

This speed and secrecy, which was so necessary, did not allow of the U.S. to be consulted. They were informed 48 hours before, although it had only reached the White House 24 hours before, but they were not consulted in it because it would have been quite useless to consult the U.S. on election eve. They could not have given both the go-ahead and their support—No leader could have given it who was fighting for his Presidency within 48 hours, and so there was no point whatsoever in consulting the U.S. . . . . only informing them.

Nor really was there any point—when you look at it dispassionately — in consulting the Commonwealth. Commonwealth reaction might have shown itself in one of many decisions:—"Yes we support you." Or it might have been a calling for documents . . . "Produce your evidence." "Why is this a calamity?" "Why must you work swiftly?" Right oh! then we would have had Commissions set up—people flying here and there—divulging our Intelligence—putting plans on the table. "See if you agree to this, or that." Then they would go back to their Legislative Assemblies, and so forth, and so forth! But, there was not TIME for this! There was no point if they disagreed because they would HAVE to be overruled in any case.

And when you look at it in that light, you realize the sort of differences of opinion there might have been between India and Australia, or Canada and South Africa. They would undoubtedly have been very great. There would not have been unanimity and Eden reckoned it would be better to take the risk oneself since only U.K. troops were to be involved rather than to appeal to the Commonwealth beforehand.

Now the attack was astonishing successful. The only thing one had against it was an overruling of the purely military point of view . . . . and I have now more or less heard from London what this military point of view was. The military plan was in fact to seize Cairo, Alexandria, north of the Canal at Port Said and South at Suez, all at the same time. This would have involved considerable preliminary bombardment—a good deal of what I shall call "promiscuous" bombing, where you cannot be as accurate as you would like to be; a great killing of personnel, and, of course, destruction of civilian buildings, and so forth.

Had that been carried out, as the plan was originally put up by the General Staff in London, it would undoubtedly have been successful in only three days, but unfortunately World opinion, Arab League opinion, Commonwealth opinion, and the U.N. had to be considered, and in the end it was decided to go only for Port Said, and to "soften up" by one of the most accurate bombardments in history; pinpoint-shooting of aircraft, tanks and so forth, which alone went on for three days before the actual attack was launched. And the modified plan of attack had to stop, as I shall tell you, three days before it could finally be concluded. Nevertheless, in that time the Israelis, and later on British and French troops, had shot down or destroyed on the ground 80% of the aircraft which Egypt had received from Russia and routed over 35% of her army in the Sinai Desert or near Port Said. It was amazingly successful.

And then, of course, as you know—and I don't want to recapitulate history—came the Soviet bluff; the great bluff that said they would send volunteers to the Middle East in hundreds of thousands and that they would rocket-bomb England. It was undoubtedly a bluff, though I quite see that in the present state of the world, no one could dare to call it. How could she have got volunteers there? Across Iran? How would they get to the canal from there? Would she FLY them in when the Allies had five aircraft carriers to stop her? Would she send them by sea when there were two fleets, apart from the American Fleet, in the offing?—three fleets all together. How would these volunteers have arrived? After all, she had the technicians she wanted for the scheme; why should she have more troops flown in there? And as for bombardment of Great Britain by rockets, has she got those rockets? We very much doubt it. And if she bombarded Great Britain, how do you deal with rockets? You bomb the bases. And who would do it? The American aircraft from their bases in Great Britain, and Russia would thus be at war with the Americans within 24 hours. To my mind that was a bluff and, all to our sadness, we were too fearful to call it, though it is, as I said, perfectly understandable.

Thereafter, of course, Eden had to reap the fruit of all this. He had to reap the fruit of U.S. fury and the personal jealousies of Mr. Dulles. The telegrams of blackmail—that England would be cut off from the American dollar—poured into London. There came in telegrams from Canada (as yet, luckily for Ottawa, not divulged!). And there came in telegrams from India on the same lines, that they would be prepared to leave the Commonwealth as well. There came in telegrams from elsewhere, and to cap it all, there came the Hungarian revolt, with Russian fury at being thwarted in the Middle East, reeking its revenge on poor Budapest. And it was Great Britain who had thus to give an ultimatum to the French commander, who wanted to go ahead with the final three days of getting the Canal. Eden had to give the ultimatum to his ally to stop action with their joint work unfinished.

But do not look at the bad part, as the papers always wish us to look. Let us look at the better side:—The Soviet arms supplied to Egypt were virtually all knocked out; Israel was given peace and a respite which she hasn't had for many long years; the Arab States did not, as our Intelligence rightly knew, come to the assistance of Egypt at all. They should have done. They were called upon to do so every two hours from Cairo radio, but they did not do so, except a small band of soldiers who cut a pipeline in Syria. We foiled a Soviet plot which was of far greater dimension than most of the world realized. We drew attention to Israel's position after hundreds of unfructuous meetings of the U.N. and a solution of the Suez Canal will surely be come by which may last for years to come. However it may be worded, it will be a solution. Finally we have forced the U.N. into action, and we are getting people for the first time used to intervention of the U.N. I see today that Pakistan has asked a U.N. force to come to Kashmir to intervene there. We are thus getting people used to the fact that the U.N. has teeth.

Now here I must come to blame the country from which I have just left, Great Britain. I think it appalling that the information that I have tried to outline here has not been more readily available. I have just finished 50,000 miles in the U.S. and found my audiences amazed to know details of Great Britain's action and justification, and that they have been pleased, astonished and bewildered that there is another side of the question at all!

Now I blame very much the British Information authorities for this.

I know that the Empire hasn't needed propaganda in the past, but it needs propaganda very much now—if you know what propaganda can do. Take instances: I think it was in 1933 to '43 that the new Indian "Congress" party smothered the U.S. with lecturers and newspaper articles and succeeded even in persuading President Roosevelt as to the rightness of the Congress cause in India. More recently, I see now in my weekly "New York Times" that even little Cyprus, whose cause is quite wrong in my mind, is convincing the American by two and one-half columns a week in the "New York Times", irrespective of expense. It puts its case over quite well and is persuading American opinion to only the Cypriot point of view. The Greeks also use many lecturers—one of them has given 160 lectures, and I challenged him on Buffalo T.V. the other day. Another instance. Within the last week, the Yemen has attacked Aden and I have read all about the Yemeni side in the Star, Telegram, The Globe & Mail, and the New York Times, but never read England's point of view, except as a footnote, until a week later. Yet I know the Yemen, and I know Aden, and there is no queston of our troops in Aden attacking the Yemen. There is no reason for it. Yemen is the most backward, hopeless and uneconomical country that anyone would want to get their hands into. But I have not seen the British point of view forcefully and interestingly explained to the press, and so I blame our information services not only there, but for the final reckoning of the Suez crisis I have outlined today.

This led us to the resignation of Eden. Eden fell as an oblation and a sacrifice to the then Nasser-Dulles axis, and so to the shoulders of the United States. I am sorry indeed to criticize them. Americans are, in my opinion after two years' of travelling around there, some of the finest people in the world; people of the best intention in the world; people who want to know what is going on in the world and who have given an enormous amount to the world, starting with the Marshall Plan. I have a very great admiration for them, but in the last few months over events in the Middle East, which they understand so singularly badly, they have shown fear, vacillation and ineptitude. As a result they, of course, became popular with the Soviets and with the Arabs and were "foisted" with a policy. Out of this vacillation and ineptitude and fear came a policy which has now been enunciated by our friend Mr. Dulles—whose best place, when he was in bed, would have been to remain there!

And out of this has hopped a wonderful frog, of which we have read in the press recently, namely, that the generous U.S. will allot to the eight Middle East countries one-fifth of the money that might have been available for the Aswan Dam and, secondly, that the U.S. will use force against the Communists only if the Communists openly attack. As if this had been anything new—when a few weeks earlier Great Britain had taken action to prevent just such an atack. Great Britain had acted quickly because the Russians act quickly, and if you don't act damn quickly yourself you will be overwhelmed, as many, many other countries can tell you.

But to revert to the American "plan". First of all the attack has got to be overt. Now, how it is going to be overt I cannot conceive, unles they send some divisions from Azerbaijan over the mountains of Perisa (Iran) and start marching to the Suez Canal, where at least three of them will arrive! They cannot get there by sea, they cannot get there by air, so I cannot think how they can attack overtly, except on foot. Secondly, the country attacked has got to request assistance. They forget, perhaps, that Mr. Nagy requested assistance a short time ago from Budapest and reaped an adequate reward! If a formal request means that the legal government still exists; that the Russians have been extraordinarily unsuccessful and that their troops are still marching into the country when it requests U.S. aid, why then the U.S. will "consider it" —in their own words—"after consulting with the appropriate committees". So they will then consult the appropriate committees to see if it is worth sending anyone to the appealing country. And how are they then going to intervene? They have with their Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, just one marine battalion, and I cannot think quite how that is going to be placed or supplied in the far reaches of Iran, Pakistan or wherever this overt attack is coming from!

In other words, Dulles' plan is an enunciation of a policy which has been "foisted" upon him, which is good as far as it goes, but the trouble is it doesn't really get started! It is in any case insufficiently grandiose and doesn't strike the imagination. So, let us think for one second what might it have been.

It might have been a two BILLION dollar loan to the Middle East spread over five or ten years for the harnessing of the great rivers which can change the future history and economy of those countries in the Middle East, mainly of the Jordan, which, if properly dammed and irrigated, could cope with some 200,000 refugees and a great many Jews as well; of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which I have watched spewing their presently useless waters into pure nothingness in a land which was once the most arable in the world, and whose harnessing would change the complete economy of many lands; and of the Nile which needs not only the Aswan Dam, but much subsidiary work in order to keep abreast of the Egyptian rise in population.

And if in Part Two, after this advancement of the two billion loan, had come an announcement that the U.S. will not tolerate within the Middle East the setting up of any Communist government and that it would intervene whether it be that the Communists go there overtly or by subversion—if it had been so worded as to strike the imagination of Arabs—then it might have stood some chance of success.

So let us in my final two minutes try and sum all this up.

It looks bad what I have just said, but it isn't as bad as all that. First of all, the Soviets are not in the Middle East now, where they would be if Great Britain had not intervened . . . . and that is the truth.

Secondly, the U.S. is taking our place, and I am glad that she is. I like the Americans and I am glad that they are taking our place rather than somebody else.

Thirdly, it has opened our eyes to the Suez Canal. I wrote its history in a book; I helped to defend it during the war and indeed planned its early defenses, yet I never realized how vital it was. I didn't know that NATO would go down the sink in a week without it. I didn't know that gas rationing would spread over Europe within three days; I didn't know that. And if it were only realized in war, Europe could be ruined, crippled and finished. So I am glad we have "discovered" this in peace time, because we must by all means now hasten alternative pipelines, alternative sites, (as in Tanganiyka where it can be piped in South Africa) build bigger tankers. We must develop, and so must the States, oil that is NOT in the Middle East, because it is quite intolerabe that the whole future of the Great European Confederation should lie in the hands of a puppet of Russia and a fool like Colonel Nasser.

I would finally be glad if I felt like Sir Anthony Nutting does in an article of his yesterday, with which I fully agree, that the Middle East crisis will turn Britain's thoughts inwards as well as outwards. You cannot rely on a Commonwealth to supply an island of 50 million people. You cannot rely on unanimous reaction of a Commonwealth as you could in Queen Victoria's day. Nor can one allow England, as the Commonwealth head, to become progressively weaker in her possessions abroad until she becomes but a satellite of America. Rather than that I hope that Britain will look inwards to Europe, because in her leadership of a European Federation lies her chance once again to be pre-eminent and to lead a Third Force which will comprise much of the inventiveness of the world, the treasures of the Old World, a great supply of skilled workmen, the material and the sinues for war, as well as for the founding of an historic future. I hope then that she will learn these lessons from the Middle East Crisis.

She must meanwhile give America every assistance she can even if she feels a little bitter. God help the U.S. in the problems that she has ahead in the Arab World. I have recenty met some of her diplomats who are going to try and solve those dynastic, personal, economic and other rivalries and jealousies which beset the Middle East. But she will certainly need Britain's assistance, and the first word of policy and advice she should receive is: "Do not put your trust in men like Col. Nasser".

So we must now expect many momentous days ahead, and during that time I hope America will sometimes listen to our advice. I hope that Mr. MacMillan will patch up Britain's quarrel with President Eisenhower, and I very much hope that Great Britain will be a country not forever sliding, so that we need not grow rather hot-cheeked when people talk slightingly about the prestige of Britain. I would like to see her rise again to seize the opportunity of leading this European Confederation. We want to look to a Mother country which is mighty, noble once more, rich once more, and respected as she should be. I hope that Britain will lead that Confederation and not rely uniquely on the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth will automatically rally to her when it sees that she has gone back to her predominant position in world affairs.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Brig. W. S. Rutherford, E.D.

"IS THIS JUSTICE?"

A Debate by

HENRY H. BULL, Q.C.
and
G. ARTHUR MARTIN, Q.C.

Thursday, January 24th 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp,O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: Today we have a singular pleasure for the Empire Club of Canada in welcoming as our guest speakers two distinguished lawyers from our own city.

Members may well feel that the Empire Club could wait too long to repeat the variation in programme which was so much enjoyed two seasons ago. I refer, of course, to the discussion between Arthur Maloney, Q.C. and Joseph Sedgwick, Q.C., on the question of Capital Punishment. Today the subject to be discussed is I feel eminently suitable for a Club like the Empire Club of Canada, since certainly our support of the Empire is based upon freedom which in turn is based upon justice, and the title is quite simply, "Is this Justice?"

Speaking from the standpoint of the prosecutor, Mr. Henry H. Bull, Q.C., Assistant Crown Attorney for Toronto and the County of York, who has had a long, distinguished and varied career in the criminal trial courts, will put his point of view first. He has achieved an enviable record of brilliant presentation and has a reputation for complete fairness to the accused.

Presenting the views as a defence lawyer we have Mr. G. Arthur Martin, Q.C., equally distinguished. In fact, these two gentlemen who were classmates, frequently find themselves on opposing sides in a courtroom and, needless to say, are firm friends. They are so well known that I won't give any further biographical details. That is hardly necessary before a Toronto audience.

Now, it is my pleasure to call upon Mr. Henry H. Bull to speak first. The intention is that under this heading, "Is this Justice?" the rights of the accused as he faces trial, the use or abuse of confessions, the role of the Judge and Jury are among the topics which may be discussed.

However, we leave these two eminent Queen's Counsel full freedom of choice in presenting their side of the story.

MR. BULL: If, from the introduction which you have just heard or from the advance notices of this meeting, you expect to be entertained by the fireworks of debate between two men who have, by reason of their respective positions in their profession, always been on opposing sides, I fear you will be disappointed.

When my learned friend and I first approached this subject we too thought that might be the case, but it soon became clearly apparant that our thinking flowed in the same channels and that in all conscience we could not maintain the position of opposing counsel, but rather were advocates of the same cause. It is a refreshing experience for us to be for the first time in agreement.

Schopenhauer in his classic work on "The Art of Controversy" demonstrated that the aim of argument is not Truth but Triumph.

There is no place for hollow victory in matters of such vital importance to the social structure and the body politic as the preservation of human rights in the field of Criminal Law. These fundamental principles are accepted by all parties and the only difference that can arise is as to their application to particular circumstances.

As a consequence, we shall endeavour in the brief time which is allotted to us, to engage in a dispassionate examination, albeit from different points of view, of some of these human rights. It will be my function to prepare a general background against which my learned friend can then present his detailed analysis.

"Is this Justice?"

That is the often indignant cry that we hear from the prisoner's dock when he hears the verdict "Guilty". It was the cry which was heard as recently as yesterday when the convicted man received his sentence. He imagines or believes, with indignation feigned or real, that he has been wronged.

"Is this Justice?"

That is the question, full of cynicism, that the disillusioned victim of a crime asks himself as he sees the despoiler of his goods and person walk from the court a free man, due to the technicalities of the law which frustrated the establishing of the truth.

"Is this Justice?"

It is the question which every sober-minded citizen may well ask when he sees trial by due process of law jeopardized by pre-trial in the press in which the passions of a whole community are whipped to a state of vengeful hysteria against the offender or the criminal made the fond object of maudlin sympathy; when the freedom of the press, the champion and the guardian of his most cherished liberty, descends to license.

It is the question which we all may well ask when ways and means are found, and found readily, for every kind of public work except the requisite accommodation for the Courts, without which they cannot properly function to maintain your and every citizen's fundamental rights.

What is Justice?

You will not find the answer in Hollywood films nor in television dramas, nor in crime fiction nor in biographies of flamboyant lawyers. Justice, like freedom, is a concept of an ideal state. As it was expressed in the Institutes of Justinian fourteen centuries ago, it is the constant and perpetual wish to render every man his due.

It has more recently been said, "It is what the right-minded members of the community—those who have the right spirit within them—believe to be fair". It is the

Maintenance of Right, the Liberty of the Individual and the Dignity of Man.

The Law is not Justice. Justice is the goal—the end to be attained. The Law—the instrument—the means by which we strive and hope to attain it. But the Law must be dictated by and imbued with an all pervading sense of what is right, what is fair, what is Justice.

The English Law—the law of English-speaking peoples throughout the world, the British Commonwealth, the United States and every place to which the Englishman has taken his law, has grown, not from the metaphysical theories of juristic experts, but from the customs and practices of the fields and farms and roads and villages of our Anglo-Saxon and Norman forebears who realized that freedom is not so much a matter of the formulation of sonorous abstractions as of protecting the rights of each single person in the state and that the test of freedom lies in the rights of the individual and in the readiness of the law to uphold them.

To quote Lord Justice, Sir Alfred Denning, of the English Court of Appeal, "The peculiar genius of the British Constitution lies in the practical instinct to see that neither rights nor powers are exceeded or abused. This instinct runs through the whole of our search for justice and liberty. The English distrust abstract philosophy as much as they distrust formal logic. Some may suggest that this is because they do not understand philosophy or logic, but the better reason is because they know they are apt to lead to error. The solution to every problem depends on the question, "Will it work?" That is to say, will it help to ensure justice and liberty? But they do not seek to define justice and liberty. They take those conceptions as well understood and busy themselves with the machinery to enforce them."

This is most cogently demonstrated in the Criminal Law wherein the State—the people as a whole—has made rules of conduct for the preservation of peace and good order within the community and for the safety of life, limb and property of its individual members. In doing so the State recognizes the doctrine of the free will of the individual.

The Criminal Code of Canada, unlike the Ten Commandments, is not a catalogue of prohibitions: "Thou shalt not steal", "Thou shalt not kill". It is rather a descriptive code of conduct for which sanctions or penalties may be imposed. It uses the phraseology throughout. "Every person who steals, kills, and so on, shall be liable to a penalty". The individual may, therefore, exercise his free will even to commit anti-social or offensive acts, but always with the knowledge of the consequences which may follow.

Because a crime by its nature or its gravity is an offence against the public, the rights of the individual injured party, if there be one, are merged in or subordinated to the greater interest of the community. Once a criminal prosecution is commenced his status is no more than that of witness, if required, and all criminal prosecutions are carried on by, and in the name of the State or Crown.

In doing so the State does not represent only the injured party nor only all the other citizens of the State. It acts for the whole including the offender himself. But the State dissociates itself from the act of its own member—it denunciates his conduct and exhibits an antagonism in its will against the will of the wrong-doer.

It is in the rules of procedure and rules of evidence which are the mechanics of this process of State against offender, that the principles of Right are mainly preserved and conversely it is this field wherein lies the danger of loss or abridgment of those rights not only of the individual accused but also of the individual victim and of the community as a whole.

These procedural rules are the result of centuries custom, precedent and legislative enactment. Originally expressed in terms of broad principles, they were flexible and adaptable, capable of application to individual circumstances. But as precedent was piled on precedent, as Ossa on Pelion, they became immutable rules of law, the more so when they were the subject of legislation. The rule and not the reason for the rule became the important thing. In this there lies a danger and a threat to justice. The complexity and variability of human conduct and the circumstances surrounding it can scarcely admit of a universal and equal incidence of the effect of such inflexible regulation.

Frequently today we hear demands from various quarters for legislation to further protect and safeguard the rights of the accused—legislation to eliminate confessions, to take an example. Though sincerely made these demands are too often born from particular circumstances. It cannot be gainsaid that there have been cases in which a person has been convicted on the confession of a crime which he had in fact not committed. There have been others where his confession, though true, has been wrongly admitted, and it has been the main or sole reason for his conviction. But these instances, Gentlemen, when viewed in the light of the great flood of cases which pass through the law courts and the courts of justice of this land every day, are almost infinitesimal in number.

Crime is by its nature secret and clandestine. The most logical source of truth is the offender himself. To stifle this source is to frustrate truth. So long as the rules which now exist, the ones which require that a confession be voluntary—that the accused be not induced to falsely incriminate himself—are vigorously upheld and conscientiously and honestly applied, can injustice result?

To formulate a law which will have universal application is taxing the legislature to the limit of its human capabilities and it must be seen to that what will achieve or appear to achieve justice in the one instance does not result in injustice in many others.

Legislation tends to become static, whereas the rules should be dynamic and so elastic as to ensure that justice can be done in every case. If legislation there must be, let it be an expression of general principles of rights, leaving the application to the discretion of the courts.

In these rules the greatest emphasis has been placed on the protection of the accused. Quite apart from the sense of fair play and sympathy for the underdog which is innate in English-speaking peoples, the reason for this emphasis has been not so much the desire for justice as the fear of injustice. We hear it frequently said that it is better that ten guilty men go free than that one innocent man be convicted. That is not justice. If ten guilty men were to be convicted and the one innocent man were to go free that would be justice.

The reason for the origin of many of these rules was the need to protect the innocent. At a time when an accused was not entitled to have counsel or to testify in his own behalf he was at a disadvantage when confronted with the overwhelming forces of the State. The rules were necessary to preserve the balance. The only time harshness of punishment out of all proportion to the gravity of the crime or its effect upon the community required these rules because of the dire consequences of a wrongful conviction.

With the growth of the Law in its recognition of fundamental rights the needs for some of these rules have long since diminished or disappeared, but still these rules persist. They serve not so much to protect the innocent for which there are other adequate rules but frequently to protect the guilty, frustrating the establishing of truth beyond a reasonable doubt. To place undue emphasis on the rights of any group of individuals in the community is to make them a privileged class. Caution must be exercised that by focussing attention on the accused it is not at the expense of justice to the community and its members who have been the victims.

What of the victim?

What are his rights?

He has the same right as any other citizen to receive his due—to be protected—to go about his way safely and without molestation.

Too often he is the forgotten man. Not indeed when the victim is a child and the crime a heinous one.

But what of the victim of the highway killer, peremptorily executed without benefit of counsel or of clergy he ends on the mortician's marble slab, just another statistic while the whole attention, too often sympathetic, is centred upon the unfortunate accused who was his executioner?

What of the disfigured who carry their scars like a life sentence to the grave, long after the accused has paid his debt to society?

What of the psychologically maimed, the victims of the sexual offender? What State agency works to rehabilitate them as it does their despoilers?

What of the victim of the thief whose rights have been subordinated to the State, which then proceeds to put the offender away virtually beyond the reach of the victim's civil remedy?

You may well ask, "What is the answer?" Is it to return to the Lex Talionis—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth? No.

Is it to say that in any sense the rights of the accused should be abridged or lessened one iota? No.

Is it to say that when we examine the rights of any individual or class of individuals we keep in mind the rights of every one, viewing them in their proper perspective, so that the universality of justice may be achieved and maintained.

It is to say that we must have a vigilant and resolute and strong Parliament, cognizant of its duty to see that no enactment shall abridge the rights of the community, of any group or of any individual in it.

It is to say we must maintain a strong and independent judiciary, astute to see that the principles of rights are maintained according to the rule of law, at the same time exercising that inherent discretion, where the particular case demands, to see that no injustice shall occur to the individual.

It is to say we must have a press that is free, a press that is vigilant to bring to light injustices and fearless to expose those agencies who would put our liberties in jeopardy.

It is to say we must have an enlightened citizenry, jealous of the traditions of liberty in which they have been nurtured, who will never turn the blind eye to injustice and like the Pharisee, pass by on the other side.

Our system is a good one. It would of course be idle to say that under it there have not been, and will not again be, abuses—that innocent men are never convicted of crime. No legal system administered by man could secure such a result. Human frailty and fallibility must lead inevitably at times to error but this does not justify condemnation of a system necessarily subject to human judgment.

We can all of us however keep that error to a minimum by maintaining constant watch to see that the fundamental rights and principles are preserved—not to be swayed from reason by bias or prejudice, sentiment or maudlin sympathy, not to lose sight of truth in irrational hysteria.

Finally, when called upon to participate actively in the maintenance of right, whether as citizens in the role of party, witness or juror, whether as law enforcement officers, or whether as officers of the Courts, to perform our duties with conscience and so preserve our heritage and achieve the goal—Justice based on Truth.

MR. MARTIN: I think for about the first time in twenty years I have the somewhat doubtful privilege of speaking after Mr. Bull, because under our rules of Criminal procedure if an accused calls any evidence then his Counsel must address the Jury first and Crown Counsel has the right to address the Jury last. The right of addressing the Jury last is thought by Counsel to be a great privilege. I find after listening to Mr. Bull's eloquence it is just as difficult to speak after him as before.

Gentlemen, a mere reference to the origin and history of what may be called our civil liberties suffices to indicate the importance of our rules of Criminal Procedure.

When our English ancestors were securing their civil liberties they did so not by procuring the assent of their would be Royal oppressors to general declarations of principles of freedom but by exacting distinct and definite promises that certain procedural rules should obtain.

Among these procedural rules were the right to trial by jury, the right not to be placed in jeopardy twice for the same offence, the right to test the legality of imprisonment by the Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Now when Englishmen crossed the Atlantic Ocean in the 17th century they brought with them their concept of Justice as embodied in these rules and in the United States of America they endeavoured to secure those basic rights for future generations by specific constitutional guarantees and in the United States of America no act of a State Legislature and no act of Congress can abrogate those rights because they are protected by the Constitution.

Under the Anglo Canadian Legal system our fundamental rights are to be found only in the rules of criminal procedure and general principles of law which govern the arrest and trial of accused persons. Their continued existence is not guaranteed by any organic law and in legal theory any or all of those rights could be completely abrogated by a simple act of Parliament. Nevertheless they have endured. That is because they embody the spirit of the people of this country.

My fear is not that any government would or could by a single act of legislation sweep aside or annul these basic rights while we remain a democratic country—that is by a single act of legislation sweep away or annul those basic rights. My fear is that with the fast developing increase in governmental authority with the prevailing emphasis at the present time on the rights of the State, that these rights of the individual will be gradually whittled down that there will be a gradual process of whittling down, a process of erosion so gradual and subtle that it will pass unnoticed and that as a result certain of our fundamental rights will eventually be substantially impaired and that in certain areas of legal action by the State these rights would gradually disappear altogether.

I propose to mention some of the rights of the accused and to indicate where in my opinion, they are in jeopardy.

Now the basic rights of the citizen as I conceive them to be, are these:

Firstly, Freedom from arrest except under conditions laid down by law. Generally speaking, a person may only be arrested upon a warrant signed by a Justice of the

Peace, and authorizing a police officer to arrest the person named or described in the warrant for the specific offence stated in the warrant. Of course, a police officer may also arrest without warrant any person whom he believed on reasonable and probable grounds has committed an indictable offence — a term loosely applied to the more serious offences. He may also arrest a person who is about to commit an indictable offence. The officer must then bring the arrested person before a Justice of the Peace within a period of twenty-four hours and if not available within twenty-four hours he must bring him before a Justice as soon as possible. At that time the accused will have the right to apply for bail unless the offence is murder or one of the offences in respect of which only a Supreme Court Judge can admit to bail.

It is important to note that under our legal system there is no right on the part of the police to detain a person for questioning: there is no right to hold a person on suspicion of having committed some offence. If a police officer wishes to restrain any person in his liberty, then he must arrest him on some specific charge and be prepared to justify his conduct in a court of law. Our courts frown upon the practice of arresting persons on charges such as vagrancy in order to enable the police to question them upon some other offence which they are suspected of having committed.

The second fundamental right of an accused is to know the specific transaction and the legal nature of the offence that he is called upon to meet.

Now, the written accusation which is called an indictment must give the accused this necessary information. At one time the indictment was unnecessarily long and technical. Our criminal procedure has been reformed by eliminating the technicalities without in any way impairing the accused's right to specific information with respect to the charge against him.

Perhaps the most fundamental right which the accused has is the presumption of innocence. This means that the prosecution must prove the guilt of the accused. There is no burden cast upon the accused to prove his innocence and if at the end of trial whatever the grounds of suspicion may be the guilt of the accused has not been established in accordance with the rules of evidence—with that legal certainty beyond a reasonable doubt that the law requires the accused is entitled to acquittal.

In the famous case of *Woolmington* v *The Director of Public Prosecutions* the Lord Chancellor expressed the Englishman's veneration for this principle in this magnificent language "throughout the web of the English Criminal Law one golden thread is always to be seen, that it is the duty of the prosecution to prove the prisoner's guilt—no matter what the charge or where the trial, the principle that the prosecution must prove the guilt of the prisoner is part of the common law of England and no attempt to whittle it down can be entertained."

Yet it is this very principle which is in great danger from the legislative process at the present time. In proportion as a crime is difficult to prove or in proportion that it is particularly heinous, Parliament from year to year whittles down the presumption of innocence by the creation of artificial presumptions of guilt upon proof of certain facts, or goes still farther and provides that upon proof of certain facts the burden is cast upon the accused to prove his innocence.

To take but a few examples. How many people know that the finding in your house by a police officer who enters under an order to search, of an ordinary deck of playing cards creates a presumption that your house is a disorderly house, to wit, a common gaming house, because it throws upon you the burden of proving innocence. How many people realize that the mere possession of a bottle of liquor in your own residence casts upon you the burden of proving that you acquired it lawfully, or that you are not keeping it for sale, or not one of the other offences which exist under the Liquor Control Act. I warn you that is a burden you might find it very difficult to discharge if the particular bottle of whiskey were given for a Christmas present. The finding of a screw driver in your automobile under the existing law casts on you the burden of proving that you have not that screw driver in your possession for the purposes of house-breaking. You might think this is a burden you could very easily discharge. What about the unfortunate man who has a previous conviction for burglary, even though he may have long since rehabilitated himself.

A man can be given a lift in an automobile in which a narcotic drug is found perhaps in the glove compartment and he has cast on him the burden of proving his innocence to the charge of being in possession of that drug which he can only discharge by proving to the satisfaction of the courts that he didn't know that drug was there and that it was not there with his consent.

Now if he fails to convince the courts of that, a further presumption arises that he is in possession of the drug for the purpose of trafficking, an offence punishable by fourteen years of imprisonment. Hence, a person might be convicted of that very serious offence by the creation of two artificial presumptions on the part of the legislation which the accused was unable to rebut. He might be unable to satisfy that burden simply because the tribunal of fact didn't believe his denial.

There are many more illustrations that I could give to you if time permitted.

The right to be tried on an indictment or accusation found by a Grand Jury and to have his guilt or innocence determined by a jury of his peers has for centuries been considered the birthright of the people of this country, and yet in most of the provinces the ancient institution of the Grand Jury has been abolished.

Now, the function of the Grand Jury, unlike the trial jury, is not to determine the innocence or guilt of the accused but to ascertain whether there is sufficient evidence to warrant his being placed on trial at all, and many a person has been saved from the ignominy and expense of a trial by the Grand Jury finding not sufficient evidence to warrant his being tried for the offence and refusing to return an indictment.

That safeguard has now been removed from our law in most provinces in Canada. The right to trial by jury in respect to many serious offences has been taken away.

There are a number of quite serious offences for which there is no longer a right to trial by jury and no person can safely say that the list of offences with respect to which the right to trial by jury is excluded may not be further extended.

Now, it is one thing for Parliament to provide than an accused should have the option of being tried by a Magistrate or Judge without the intervention of a jury. It is quite another thing for Parliament to take away the right altogether without his consent. A person who is alleged to be an habitual criminal no longer has the right to have his status determined by a Jury and upon conviction he may be sentenced to a penitentiary for an indeterminate period which of course may be life imprisonment. The Criminal Code provides that "the Minister of Justice shall, at least once in every three years, review the condition, history and circumstances of that person for the purpose of determining whether he should be permitted to be at large on license and if so, on what conditions." If the Minister comes to the conclusion that he should not be freed he remains in the penitentiary for the rest of his life. It would seem that this legislation removes the person found to be an habitual criminal forever from the jurisdiction of the courts. In the case of review by the Minister there would appear to be no provision for him to be represented before the Minister. The Minister need give no reasons for his refusal to allow the accused to be free on license, and there is no appeal from his judgment which is inscrutable.

This is another example of the gradually encroaching power of the State and the gradual demolition and erosion of our fundamental rights.

The development of scientific aids and their use in crime detection I do not think in any way place the rights of the accused in jeopardy because scientific tests such as blood tests in automobile cases, cannot be taken without the consent of the accused, without rendering the person who takes them liable to be charged with assault. Although by a strange anomaly in our law of evidence even if the test was taken without the consent of the accused it would still be admissible in evidence against him.

The chief safeguard, however, is that the ultimate decision rests with the Court. The experts merely give opinions as to the conclusion drawn from the analysis of samples or other subjects. He is subject to cross-examination by Counsel for the accused, and the Court may either accept or reject what the expert says. In that way the guilt or innocence of the accused is determined in accordance with traditional rules.

One of the most distinctive features of our legal system is the right of the accused not to incriminate himself. He is not obliged to answer questions put to him by the police before trial, and at the trial he cannot be questioned by the Judge or prosecuting Counsel unless he volunteers to give evidence. If he chooses not to give evidence then no comment can be made by either the Judge or the prosecuting Counsel on his failure to do so.

Again, if a confession is sought to be introduced in evidence by the prosecution, the prosecution has the burden of satisfying the Judge that that confession was freely and voluntarily made. If obtained by any form of duress, either mental or physical, then the confession will be rejected and will not be heard.

The reason for that rule is that a person under duress might confess to a crime he was not guilty of in order to evade his oppressors or for some other reason.

Now, at one time the right of the accused not to answer questions put by the Police was so jealously guarded that English Judges rejected any statement made in answer to a question put by a Police Officer to a person in custody as not being made voluntarily. About fifty years ago our Courts held that a statement was not necessarily inadmissable in evidence because made in answer to questions put by the police, providing that the questioning by the police was not in the nature of cross-examination, in the nature of interrogation designed to break the accused down, to deprive him of his free and voluntary will.

It is my view that the only real danger that exists at the present time with respect to the accused's immunity against self-incrimination consists perhaps in a too liberal attitude, or will come from a too liberal attitude in the future on the part of our courts toward lengthy police interrogation.

I come now to the last and perhaps most fundamental right that the accused has—the right to make full answer in defence.

In some aspects this particular right is more fully protected than at any time in history. It was not until 1836 in England that the accused obtained any right of Counsel to speak for him in the ordinary sense. The imperative requirement that a person charged with a crime have Counsel to defend him I think needs no elaboration.

Mr. Justice Stephen, perhaps the greatest authority on the subject of the Criminal Law and its administration said, "if the facts are at all numerous, if the witnesses either lie or conceal the truth, an ordinary man, deeply ignorant of law and intensely interested in the result of the trial, and excited by it, is in practice utterly helpless if he has no one to advise him."

The bare legal right to Counsel would, however, be meaningless if it were not implemented in some practical way and in most of the counties and districts in this province the system of free legal aid exists whereby the person accused of a crime, without the means to employ Counsel, can apply to the Sheriff of the County or District to have counsel assigned to him.

Apart altogether from the system of free legal aid, the Bar has always voluntarily assumed the obligation of defending persons charged with serious crimes.

Until the close of the last century an accused person was not entitled to give evidence in his own behalf. That right is now accorded to him.

That must strike one as rather startling, that where a trial is taking place with respect to a charge of crime alleged to have been committed by the prisoner, that the person most affected, the prisoner, could not be heard to give his version. No doubt early English Law rejected the evidence of the accused because it was thought his motive to lie was so strong that his evidence was virtually valueless. Our law now takes a more humane view.

However, the right to give evidence is considered by many eminent Canadian lawyers to be a doubtful privilege. If the accused does give evidence on his own behalf he may be cross-examined with respect to his previous criminal record, if he has one. The fear that the Jury may be thereby prejudiced against him does deter many an accused person from giving evidence on their own behalf, and many experienced Counsel advise prisoners who have previous convictions not to give evidence for fear of prejudice, and it may well be that juries are from time to time prevented from fairly trying the only issue before them which is whether the prisoner is guilty of this particular charge, by a consideration of his previous record. It is all too easy to come to a conclusion that because the accused has a previous record he is therefore a bad man and has possibly committed this particular crime, even though the evidence to prove that may be decidedly weak.

I think it would be preferable if the English rule that a prisoner who gives evidence could not be cross-examined with respect to previous convictions prevailed here. In England a prisoner cannot be cross-examined with respect to a criminal record unless he has given evidence of good character or unless the previous offences are so intimately connected with the one with which he is charged that they tend to prove his guilt on that charge.

The right to counsel and to give evidence may be almost valueless if a person is forced to go on trial not knowing what witnesses are going to be produced against them and what the substance of their testimony is going to be because how can he prepare the defence if he doesn't know what evidence he is called upon to meet?

While it is generally thought among lawyers that modern practice concedes the right to accused persons to obtain this information there are prosecuting officers who take a different view and in the absence of effective means to obtain disclosure of the Crown's case the accused may be gravely prejudiced in his trial.

It is not my intention to suggest to you that we need at this particular time in our political history a Bill of Rights to protect fundamental concepts of Justice but I would remind you of the words of a great Irish advocate J. P. Curran who said, "Eternal vigilance is the price of Freedom" and I would suggest the rights for which our ancestors struggled so long and hard are worth protecting.

And lastly I would suggest that crime prevention and control is best achieved not by systematic abrogation of basic rights but by an efficient law enforcement personnel within the existing legal system and that in the final analysis to use the words of Professor Wechsler "the most satisfactory method of crime prevention lies in the solution of the basic problems of government—the production and distribution of external goods, education and recreation."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Alexander Stark.

"THE FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE"

An Address by

F. CYRIL JAMES, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., D.Sc.
Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal

Thursday, January 31st, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: The first time Dr. Cyril James addressed this Club was on February 6, 1941, when our President was the Hon. G. Howard Ferguson. Dr. James has visited us twice since that time, on February 12, 1948 and on St. Patrick's Day 1949. On the merits of those three speeches alone he would find a warm welcome awaiting him at any time from the Empire Club of Canada and we can be proud that our Year Books contain such fine material.

The reputation of Principal James is widely known. He was born and educated in London, England and came to North America with a B. Comm. from the London School of Economics in 1923 to take his MA and Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. He stayed there to teach economics subjects until he moved to McGill in 1939. He has been Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill since December 1st of that year. He has been given honorary degrees by no less than twenty different universities, among them Toronto in 1945, was made a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1948.

Dr. James has chosen as his subject today "The Future of the Empire" and in doing so I feel that he has honored us most graciously. Moreover, at this particular point in the evolution of that Empire we are thirsty for knowledge and anxious to have an honest appraisal. At other times in the 54 years' history of the Empire Club sixty of our guest speakers, including Winston Churchill, have dealt with the Empire in one context or another. We could not look forward to anything more keenly in 1957 than Dr. Cyril James speaking on "The Future of the Empire".

MR. JAMES: During the days immediately after the Anglo-French attempt to seize the Suez Canal, some Canadians were suggesting that this action might bring an end to the British Commonwealth. Opinion has changed somewhat during the intervening weeks, but the simple fact that such opinions could be held makes it important for us to ask ourselves soberly, without sudden excitement, What in our opinion is the future of the Empire for which this Club was named half a century ago or, more precisely of the Commonwealth which is its modern embodiment?

The first thought that comes to my mind is that more than a century ago there were many Canadians who felt that the Empire was no longer of interest to this country. The group that signed the Annexation Manifesto in 1849 contained among its numbers several outstanding Canadians. These men were convinced that the usefulness of the British Empire from the viewpoint of Canada was a thing of the past, and that it would be much better for the future development of our country if it should be annexed to the rapidly growing nation of the United States to the south of our border. The people who were enthusiastic about the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 were more moderate in their convictions. Lord Elgin, indeed, pointed out that increased trade with the United States might improve the prosperity of Canada and avoid the desire for annexation. There were still, however, many Canadians who supported the Reciprocity Treaty because they felt that this compromise would inevitably lead to final commercial and political union with the United States. Many of them must have thought that the action of Great Britain in adopting free trade policies had brought the British Empire to an effective end.

Looking backwards over Canadian history, it is easy for us to say that Canada, in the middle of the nineteenth century, was a vastly different country from that which it has now become. Confederation was still in the future. The Hudson's Bay Company still owned the great North West, and the development of a Dominion stretching from sea to sea was scarcely envisaged by the Parliamentary Commission on the Hudson Bay Territories that was set up in London exactly a hundred years ago. In terms of transportation, the first train to link Toronto and Montreal did not run until 1856, and it is worth remembering that Canada still had no direct communication with Great Britain or Europe. As a matter of fact, exactly one hundred years ago, in the spring of 1857, the SS. Niagara was sailing from our shores eastward across the Atlantic on a mission that envisaged a meeting with HMS AGAMENNON which was sailing from Britain at the same time. The first trans-Atlantic cable was being laid.

Canada was a different place a hundred years ago, and the Canadians who signed the Annexation Manifesto or supported the Reciprocity Treaty could not have foreseen the evolution of the British Empire any more clearly than they envisaged the future development of Canada. We in our day, looking backward, can recognize their blindness and their foolishness.

Might it not be equally true that we Canadians of this generation have no better vision? How clear is our concept of the British Commonwealth at the present time? How clearly do we envisage its future development?

As soon as we begin to ask ourselves those questions, it becomes apparent that the nature of the British Empire has changed even more than Canada has changed during the course of the past two centuries. To describe in detail its process of evolution would take more time than I have at my disposal today and would greatly strain your patience. But I should like, in broad brush strokes, to delineate the four significant stages by which the British Empire has evolved into a Commonwealth which, in my opinion, is unique in human history.

Two hundred years ago the concept of Empire was simple: it was property. The territory and population that a more powerful country had conquered was an asset to be numbered among its possessions, and exploited for its profit. Quite frequently, as in the case of India, Virginia or Massachusetts, the colony was owned by a great corporation that had purchased it for cash and operated it strictly for the profit of its shareholders, but whether operated by a corporation or directly by government the colony had no rights of its own and no voice in deciding whether it should stay in the Empire or leave it.

The Empire belonged entirely to the great power that had conquered it. England followed the trail that had been blazed by Spain, Portugal, France and Holland. If we can find a difference, it lies solely in the fact that emigration from Great Britain was larger in volume than the previous migrations from the older colonial powers to their outlying possessions. These emigrants from Britain, whose character and aspirations are so splendidly set forth in Stephen Vincent Benet's *Western Star* were not always as concerned as they should have been about the profit of the corporation that paid their passage, or about the mother country from which they came. Quite frequently they carried in their breasts a stubborn and intransigent conviction that they were entitled, wherever they went, to the traditional rights of an Englishman. That conviction might create trouble in the future, but at the moment of their emigration it did not affect the concept of Empire that was strongly held in London, Paris and Amsterdam.

For many of the great powers this concept of Empire continued to be valid until the end of the nineteenth century. The report on the Belgian Congo during the last quarter of that century which was written by that tragic figure, Sir Roger Casement, is pretty grim reading, but there is no reason for us to single out the Belgian Empire as worse than that of many other European countries. The idea of exploitation for profit was still deeply engrained. In the case of the British Empire, however, two sets of forces had combined to bring about a complete change of philosophy during the period from

1775 to 1850. Politically, the American War of Independence had brought home to many thinking people in the United Kingdom the fact that colonies had rights and were entitled to a measure of self government. We should never forget that the birth of the United States, much as it owed to the gallant men who fought under the command of General Washington, also owes something to those great liberal thinkers and statesmen in England who insisted day in and day out that Lord North's concept of empire was out of date and suicidal. The intransigence of the emigrants who thought that they carried with them the rights of an Englishman was justified in the event.

Parallel to this growing political consciousness, but independent of it, was the sequence of hammer blows that we call the Industrial Revolution. The United Kingdom had become the workshop of the world. It had discovered that instead of growing its own food and raw materials it could obtain them more cheaply by spending its energies on the production of manufactured goods and exporting those goods in exchange for the food and raw materials that other countries could produce. Its trade was extending to all the world, and statisticians have pointed out that the trade between Great Britain and the United States grew more rapidly after 1776 than it had during the preceding fifty years. The old policies of colonialism were not necessary. Free trade was a new gospel, and after Britain had repealed the Corn Laws, in 1846, serious thinkers were suggesting that it should divest itself of its colonies, encourage them to become self-governing and concentrate its energies entirely on the development of British industry and trade.

When Albert, Prince Consort, opened the Great Exhibition in London in the spring of 1851, this new philosophy was fully fledged. It was no small vision in terms of the history of humankind. Men dreamed that economic progress under free capitalism would unite the whole world in a peaceful human family, in which the inhabitants of each country would enjoy the products of all in proportion to the volume of their own exports. Each country, and the business men within it, should manage its own affairs, and political government had no responsibilities but those of a policeman to maintain the ring. Colonies should be given the privileges of self government as quickly as possible and encouraged to develop their own economies on their own initiative and with their own resources. The Durham Report of 1837, which is a landmark in the history of the British Empire as significant as it is in the history of Canada, was a reflexion of this new philosophy. The Annexation Manifesto was Canada's angry answer to it.

The dimming of this vision of a flourishing international economy, and the beginning of the third stage in the evolution of the British concept of Empire, is harder to date. In some ways, the most significant date is exactly a century ago when the Indian Mutiny broke out in Meerat in May of 1857. The ultimate result of that Mutiny was, as we all remember, the termination of the Charter of the East India Company and the end of corporate exploitation of colonial possessions. The Indian Empire, splendidly envisioned by Disraeli, was its successor, and the concept of empire that it embodied began to gather momentum during the 1870's when Britain reversed the previous trend and set out to acquire additional colonies. The detailed record does not concern us here, but as examples we can remember that the Malay States were added to the British Empire in 1872, Fiji in 1875, and the Transvaal in 1877.

During the forty years from the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny to the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 a completely new concept of Empire had been worked out. It was displayed in kalaidescope for all the world to see at those Diamond Jubilee celebrations, in which men in varied uniforms gathered from all the far corners of the seven seas to march in procession and do honour to the great Queen Empress.

This was the Empire that Rudyard Kipling described in story and in verse. It was the concept of Empire that inspired the creation of this Club more than half a century ago.

I do not know if Kipling will be numbered among the greatest of English poets: only the passage of time can decide that. At the moment, few people read him, and there is a tendency to assume that he wrote of an empire ruled by Colonel Blimps that is something out of a past that we should like to forget. In point of fact, whether he is a great poet or not, he wrote clearly and accurately of the ideals of the empire that he praised. He could not have done otherwise and remained the widely-read apostle of empire that his contemporaries knew him to be.

Do you remember his description of Tommy Atkins, the typical British soldier, and his reaction to the attitude of the civilian?

"Yes, makin'mock of uniforms that guard you while you sleep
Is cheaper than them uniforms, and they're starvation cheap;
And hustlin' drunken soldiers when they're going large a bit

Is five times better business than paradin' in full kit."

No German poet could have written that. No German would have dared to treat a soldier as Tommy Atkins was treated regularly in London. The British Empire was certainly not militaristic.

Do you remember the Ballad of East and West that is so often truncated in quotation?

"Oh East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently
At God's great judgment seat;
But (*notice that But*) there is neither East nor West
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

No Belgian, no Russian, poet would have dared to suggest that "natives" were as good as their national soldiers—that colour and religion and race were of no importance, that (as Burns expressed it) "a man's a man for a' that"!

Every Canadian knows the poem that celebrated his country's tariff act of 1897—

"A nation spoke to a nation,
A Queen sent word to a Throne:

'Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own.
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close,
And I set my house in order',
Said Our Lady of the Snows."

Familiarity and repetition have dulled the significance of those words—but let us remember clearly that in 1897 no colony or dominion of any other imperial power would have dared to suggest that "the gates are mine to open, as the gates are mine to close". France has often been praised for its colonial policy, but no French poet would have suggested anything as preposterous as this in regard to Algeria or Tunis.

I could continue this pattern of quotation: there is so much in Kipling that is worth reading as a description of the ideals of the British Empire as they were understood not only by statesmen but by the man in the street. I shall mention only that *Recessional* which Kipling would not sell or allow to be published for royalties. He sent it to the *Times* for free publication, as an article of faith and a dedication:

"The tumult and the shouting dies;
The Captains and the Kings depart:"

[*they had been in London for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee*]

"Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget!
For frantic boast and foolish word—
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord!"

Was there one poet of any empire who, in the hour of its great glory, could pen such lines?

This is not a lecture on Kipling. I have quoted him only because he, more than any other man, reflected unspoken thoughts in the minds of his contemporaries—and found singing words in which to set them forth. The ideals of Empire that he expressed, on behalf of his generation,

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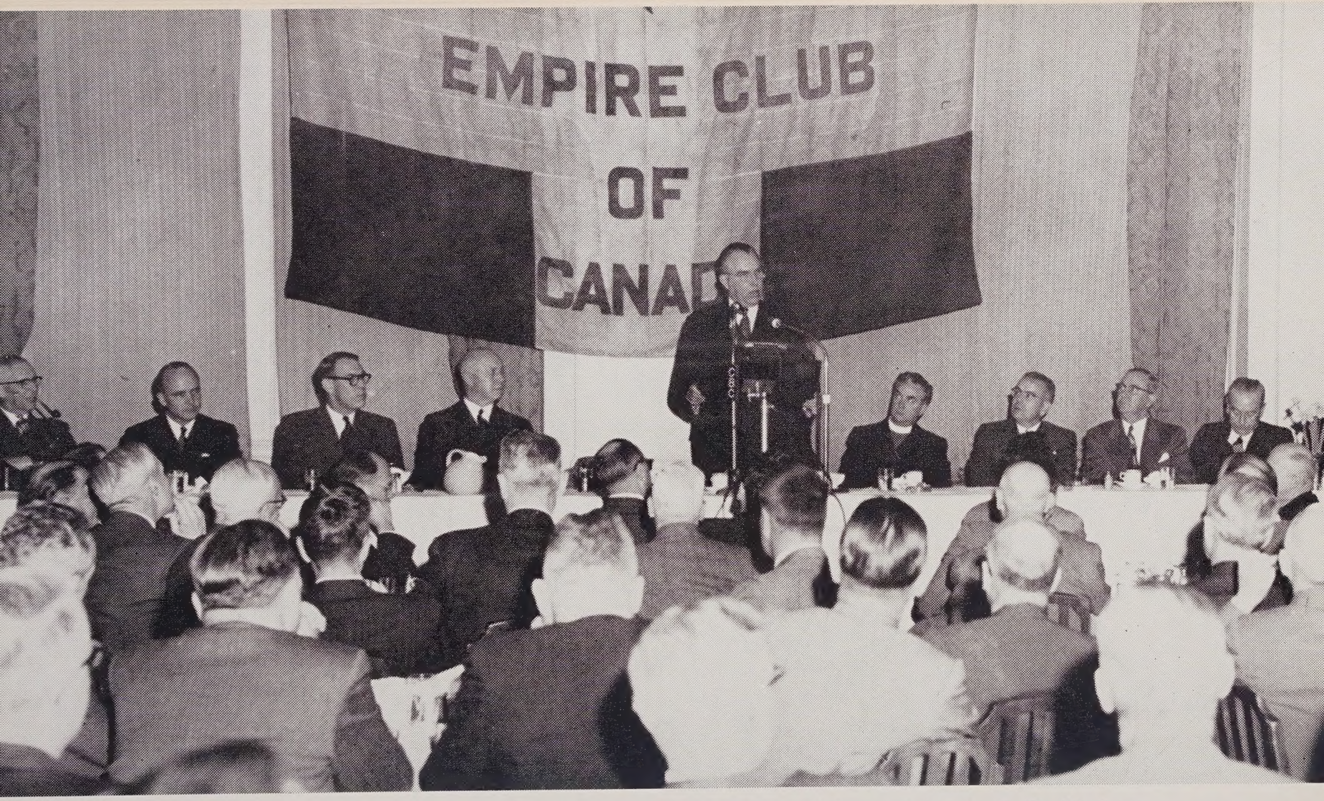
Hon. L. Rene Beaudoin Meeting, October 25th, 1956. *From Left to Right*: Senator David A. Croll; Hon. L. Rene Beaudoin; D. H. Jupp; Senator Arthur Roebuck.


EMPIRE CLUB
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Lester L. Colbert Meeting, January 10th, 1957. *From Left to Right*: R. C. Berkinshaw; Neil J. McKinnon; Rhys M. Sale; C. S. Frost; Lester L. Colbert; Rt. Rev. G. B. Snell; R. W. Todgham; D. C. Gaskin; W. H. Funston; James Cope.

were revolutionary. They were not based on commercial profit in the traditional sense but on three fundamental ideas that were integrated with one another. In the first place, Britain felt it necessary to acquire and maintain strategic bases throughout the world, partly in order to service the trade routes on which the prosperity and, indeed, the life of the people of Britain depended and partly, as the shadows of war grew ominous, to prepare for Armageddon, so that Britain might continue to play its part in the defence of the free world. In the second place, this Empire of Kipling was shot through with the profound conviction that colonial areas should in due course be dowered with the rights, the liberties and traditional independence of Englishmen, that they should be trained in the traditions of democracy so that ultimately they might govern themselves. In the third place, this concept of Empire was founded on the recognition of "the white man's burden". This is an easy joke nowadays, and calls to mind some of Mr. Low's cartoons of Colonel Blimp. It calls to mind also sad examples of colonial exploitation which masqueraded under this principle, but as in so many other of Kipling's phrases, this one has a deeper meaning if one goes back to read again the poem in which the phrase was coined:

"Take up the White Man's burden—
  No tawdry rule of kings
But toil of serf and sweeper—
  The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
  The roads ye shall not tread,
Go make them with your living,
  And mark them with your dead!"

No generation of mankind ever lives up fully to its ideals. George Bernard Shaw had some truth when he remarked epigrammatically that nobody knew whether Christianity would work because no generation had ever tried it. Certainly examples can be found where British practice fell short of British ideals, but the record is still clear that money and manpower were poured out for more than half a century by the United Kingdom to aid and assist the development of colonies and dominions. People did not think this strange, or unduly charitable, in an Empire or a Commonwealth; it is the natural responsibility of a stronger partner to help the weak. Let me add, moreover, that even if practice did fall short of ideals, Kipling, who stated those ideals so clearly, was the most popular writer in the English language at the end of the nineteenth century and undoubtedly reflected the concept that was in the mind not only of statesmen but of the man in the street. Let me add, too, that Britain's strategic vision did contribute to the peace of the world throughout the troubled period from 1865 to 1914. It contributed, too, to the defence of the free world in two great wars, at colossal cost to the people of Great Britain. Let us remember, also, that most of what were once Colonies and Dominions are today sovereign states.

The fourth and present stage in the concept of the British Empire is the logical and successful outcome of the third. As I have just said, all of the Dominions are today sovereign states, determining their own policy not only internally but in the realm of international affairs. Ireland and India have, indeed, become Republics within the framework of the Commonwealth, and foresworn constitutional allegiance to the Crown. In terms of wealth for internal development and external defence, most of these Dominions now feel themselves entirely independent of Great Britain and, if they do not have confidence in their own resources, feel that they can rely upon the great resources of the United States.

What is the future of the Commonwealth in these circumstances? People are usually too polite to state ideas clearly and bluntly. Many of our political ideas are the roseate, and pleasantly vague, visions of half remembered yesterdays, but if we are going to attempt to think about the future it is important that our ideas should be as precise as we can make them. If, then, I may be blunt: much of the discussion in various parts of the Commonwealth at the present time boils down to this: We, [Canada, India or some other country] have grown wealthier and more important, compared to the United Kingdom; we no longer need the assistance that Great Britain gave us in the past; is it worth while keeping up the old friendship? Our new neighbour, the United States, is much richer than Great Britain, and might be more generous. What shall we do about it?

Such bluntness is uncomfortable, but we must face reality if we want to appraise the future. Such a statement, moreover, is defensible in terms of the oldest concepts of Empire that I have mentioned: an Empire or a Commonwealth is worth the profit that you get out of it. We are conscious, however, that this concept of profit is greatly out of date in terms of the development of British political theory, and that such an approach to the future of the British Commonwealth is sadly below the ideals that were envisaged by the men who created this Empire Club of Toronto more than half a century ago.

How are we going to answer this blunt question? Canada's answer is of outstanding importance, not only to ourselves but to every other part of the British Commonwealth and, I think, to the rest of the world. Canada is the oldest self-governing Dominion. It is far and away the wealthiest, both in terms of aggregate national production and in terms of *per capita* national income. It is the closest, both geographically and in terms of mutual understanding, to the United States.

Canada can afford to make decisions with much greater freedom than any of the other nations that compose the Commonwealth. We are too inclined, even today, to think of ourselves as a small second-rate power, inevitably following the lead either of the United States or of Great Britain. But I can assure you that any Canadian who travels away from this Continent into the Middle East, Asia, Africa or Australia, and talks with people in those areas, obtains a completely different viewpoint. I can still remember the amusement of the foreign minister of a small country in the Middle East, who had asked me about Canada's foreign policy, when I explained to him that we were a small country that did not have an independent foreign policy but followed the lines suggested by our more powerful friends. When he saw that I really meant what I said, he became serious and pointed out to me that at the present time Canada is perhaps the fourth or fifth greatest power in the world in terms of resources. He went on to point out that, from the angle of its international prestige, its rating is even higher, because Canada has no history of colonialism or aggressive war. He mentioned to me that General Burns, who is so splendidly doing a difficult job in the Middle East, is a man of outstanding ability but the fact that he is a Canadian helps him immeasurably. Canada has a reputation for integrity and ability that has been demonstrated by the representatives that our Government has sent to all parts of the world. It is also admired for its generous aid to nations that are less wealthy.

All of us realize that Canada cannot escape from the responsibilities of its position. Our northland is the frontier of democracy, and if war should come (which Heaven forfend!) the attack on this Continent will move across Canada. We are the Lords of the Marches—the defender of the outward bastion. In a more hopeful sense, we know that our future is involved in the future of the whole free world, that our prosperity depends upon trade, that our resources can only bring us optimum well-being if we are able to develop on the basis of them an industrial and trading organization that is geared to the needs and habits of every corner of the world. We know these things. We are not isolationist. We recognize that Canada has responsibilities to the rest of the world. The question that we must think about is the precise way in which those responsibilities are to be discharged.

To some Canadians it is enough that we play a part and, on several occasions, a very distinguished part in the affairs of the United Nations. They assume that this new organization of states is going to provide the machinery for the solution of all the problems that vex the world. It is wise, however, to remember that the League of Nations did not in its generation achieve peace throughout the world, nor was it effective in staving off the second World War. Even at this moment we in Canada, like millions of people throughout the world, are waiting to see whether the United Nations (successor to the League of Nations) is going to take a firm and constructive stand in the Middle

East and help the world towards a peaceful solution of the difficult problems that vex that area.

The difficulty of the United Nations is not due to any lack of desire. In the Assembly, and in the Council, Canada finds herself with many like-minded people, representatives of nations that are eager to attain a peaceful and prosperous world. The difficulty lies in the fact that the United Nations, like any omnibus international organization, includes all of the parties to the dispute. The representatives of the western world are confronted across the table by the representatives of the communist world. The power of veto can paralyze action. In many senses, the meetings of the United Nations are more comparable to the assemblies of a peace conference than to the normal activities of a parliament, or a city council, or a club composed of like-minded people eager to find a constructive solution. I might add, in parenthesis, that the present situation of the City Council of Montreal, with its dispute between two executive committees and the attempt to use a veto for the purpose of preventing action, is closer to the pattern of the United Nations than it should be!

In a world of contrasting philosophies and opposing interests, the association of like-minded people in intimate contact for the achievement of a common cause is the only hope of constructive progress. In the field of international affairs, the only association of that kind that is possible in our generation is the British Commonwealth.

Let us remember its structure. We hear the phrases so often that their meaning becomes blurred, but each of them is significant. Every member of the British Commonwealth is a sovereign state, proud of its independence and conscious of its right to leave the Commonwealth at any moment that it should so decide. These sovereign states are not bound by treaty, by tariffs or by force. They comprise an infinite diversity of peoples, of geography, of religions, of habits and of economic development. They are united only by a common tradition, a common ideal —the realization that the individual is more important than the state, that freedom is more important than generous rations, that "man shall not live by bread alone". In such an association there will, inevitably, be irritations. There are people in Canada (and I am sure in Great Britain) who disapprove of the British policy in regard to Suez (even though history may be kinder to Anthony Eden than his contemporaries have been). There is concern, and some serious opposition, to the treason trials and the policy of apartheid in South Africa. There is widespread dislike among some Canadians of the socialism of the Government of England, or that of New Zealand. These differences and defects, regrettable as some may think them, are much less important than the fundamental things that we hold in common. No man, no nation, is perfect. No man, unless he be a megaglomaniac dictator, expects all other people to do exactly what he wishes. We like our friends, and bind them to us with cords of affection, in spite of their minor idiosyncrasies.

If we hope to preserve for our children the freedom to make up their own minds, even the freedom to make their own mistakes, the Commonwealth is the only organization on which we can rely with complete confidence. It is built on the traditions that are the foundation of our Canadian society, of the society of every other Dominion and, let us remember, of the society of our great neighbour, the United States. It is elastic. We can admit to its association countries such as our NATO allies, which share the same conviction. We can even ask the United States to resume its place as a charter member, and meanwhile work in closest partnership with that country.

It is the idea of partnership, of the sharing of ideals and burdens, which is the essential ingredient that we must keep continually before our minds. Peace cannot be preserved in the world by the unilateral action of anyone great power: peace and progress depend upon coopertion, honest friendship, and mutual trust. Let us remember that if we cannot make the Commonwealth work as a partnership of free peoples for the progress of mankind, we are very unlikely to make the United Nations, or any other international association, work more successfully. If, on the other hand, the nations of the Commonwealth and those that share our ideals are continually conscious of the traditions that bind our destinies together, if we stand solidly together and work together in a common determination to preserve our liberties, we shall be acting worthily as the inheritors of the finest ideals that made the third phase of the British Empire's evolution memorable in terms of the history of human progress.

This means more than words. Canada is now a responsible member of the Commonwealth, wealthy in its own right and no longer dependent. If we inherit the concept of Empire, in its idealistic sense, we must remember that this concept was based upon the practical realization of strategic objectives in a military sense, and on the practical implementation of developmental policies for the poorer areas in an economic sense. We shall have, from time to time, to provide money and to provide men, to help the poorer parts of the Commonwealth develop. We shall have to spend time and energy working out with them policies appropriate to the preservation of our common institutions and our way of life. We must be patient, remembering that it is much harder to work out common policies when all the members of the group are more nearly equal in strength than it is when one is the outstanding leader and pays the bills. We shall require persistence, as well as patience, courage and vision. Is not the ultimate reward worth all this effort just as much today as it was sixty years ago? If we can preserve the Commonwealth, if we can, as a Commonwealth, work in association with the United States and other powers that share our ideals, if we can make this association function as a group of friends, and refrain from carping, backbiting criticism of another which destroys spontaneous affection, then it is clear that no better method is available for the protection and development of the ideals that are our heritage. It is equally clear that, in such circumstances, no force on earth can threaten our welfare.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. C. C. Goldring, Past President of the Club.

"THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS and FREE TRADE UNIONS Throughout the World"

An Address by

CLAUDE JODOIN
President, Canadian Labour Congress

Thursday, February 7th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: We are privileged to welcome as our guest speaker today, Mr. Claude Jodoin, who is in every sense of the word a leading Canadian. Born in Westmount, Quebec, in 1913, he took a classical education at Ste Marie College and Jean de Brebeuf College in Montreal. In 1937 he became an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, became Assistant Manager and later Manager of the Montreal Joint Board of the Dressmakers' Union and by way of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, rose to the Presidency of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in August 1954. When the founding convention of the Canadian Labour Congress took place in Toronto in April 1956 Mr. Jodoin was elected President.

We salute our guest speaker for the keen interest he has always shown in the field of combatting racial intolerance as evidenced by nine years as Chairman of the TLC Standing Committee to combat racial discrimination.

Since 1949 Mr. Jodoin has been a member of the executive board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and since 1950 a member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O.

By way of extra-curricula activities our guest speaker has not been idle. For two periods 1940-42 and 1947-54 he served as a City Councillor in Montreal, and he was a member of the Quebec Legislature for Montreal St. James in 1942-44. He is a member of the national executive of the Canadian Red Cross and of the Catholic Federation of Charities.

I was intrigued by the Geddes Plan recently proposed by Mr. Charles Geddes, a member of the Executive of the Trades Union Congress in Britain. It calls for the Unions to take the lead in counter-attacking inflation by negotiating in future not for wage increases but for price cuts. This is a good enough example to illustrate that under the free enterprise system labour and management are both working for the same objectives and that Union leadership displays statesmanlike qualities and imaginative enterprise.

I should like to mention that Trade Unionism has been a topic for addresses to the Empire Club in the past. Samuel Gompers in 1921 and Walter Reuther in 1956 have graced our meetings. So today I have much pleasure in presenting Mr. Claude Jodoin who will speak to us about "The Canadian Labour Congress and Free Trade Unions Throughout the World"—Mr. Jodoin.

MR. JODOIN: I have been interested to note that your organization has been in existence since 1903. During that time, I know, you have had as your guests a great many outstanding Canadians, as well as many visitors from other countries. Your obvious desire to gain first-hand knowledge of a wide variety of affairs is most commendable; for, only through knowledge can we advance. The invitation which you have so kindly extended to me today is, I take it, evidence of an interest in the Canadian labour movement.

It was well over half a century ago when this Empire Club was formed; but even then, in 1903, organized labour was fairly well established in Canada. Individual unions had first appeared 90 years before, and central labour bodies, providing a means of co-operation between unions, were 30 years old.

The first step toward this type of co-operation was taken here in Toronto by the Toronto Trades and Labor Council. In the Library of our national office in Ottawa is the minute book of that organization covering the period around 1903. Its pages are yellow but its story is still interesting.

The Toronto Trades Council 54 years ago represented a membership of 9,200—now the new merged Toronto and District Labour Council represents 110,000 men and women in the Toronto Metropolitan area. There have been many other changes. In the year 1903 bricklayers in Toronto succeeded in increasing their weekly wages from $18.68 to $19.80; motormen and conductors on the suburban streetcar lines had their wages increased from $8.75 to $10.00.

Of course prices were far lower in those days too; but I don't imagine anyone will dispute the statement that our living standards have increased since 1903—and considerably. I would not suggest that organized labour alone has been responsible for this change; but I do suggest that labour has had a major role.

We are told—and I imagine the bricklayers and motormen and others in 1903 were also told—that wage increases merely lead to higher prices and nothing is gained. The record gives little support to those who hold this view. Labour's efforts to obtain better wages and working conditions has been consistent since 1903—and before—and has met with a good deal of success. Today our living standards are the highest in our country's history, and the second highest in the world.

Again, I am not attempting to take all the credit on labour's behalf—we in Canada are blessed with most unusual natural wealth; we have a young and virile people; we have opportunities which few other people enjoy. At the same time I would suggest that the pressures applied by labour have been instrumental in having us take advantage of these conditions. No management, and no ownership, faced with a continued natural desire by employees to better their conditions, can afford to sleep at the switch. These very desires, expressed through co-operative union methods in a responsible manner can spur many managements to more efficient operations—and have done so.

We are still in the early stages of a new year and it is natural that at such times people ask what the future holds. No one, of course, knows; but opinions can be interesting. As far as labour is concerned there will be this year, and in other years ahead, a continuing desire to strive for a better life for all people. We still have a long way to go, even here in Canada. This is obvious when we look at the figures of the 1951 census showing a housing backlog of 400,000 units with close to another million houses either overcrowded or in need of major repairs.

We still have a great unfilled need in Canada when there are nearly a million homes without any running water; when a million and a half Canadian housewives use a broom instead of a vacuum cleaner. One could go on and on, but I think it's obvious that the need is there; and the fulfillment of the need will give employment to many thousands of people.

This is one of the factors that adds to the brightness of our future. The preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Future, which we saw just recently, was optimistic. You will recall that Mr. Gordon and his colleagues forecast a 66% increase in Canadian living standards. The commission says that wage rates are going to continue to rise and living standards will rise even more.

Now I know that many of you attending this luncheon today are employers, and it's natural that employers wonder whether or not a new year is going to be one of industrial peace. That, of course, is a matter which we feel does not rest entirely with organized labour. There are two parties to every collective agreement. Then again, conditions differ widely in various industries and places of employment; but I think there are some things that can be said in a general way.

I think, on the whole, we are all learning to settle more and more of our differences across a bargaining table and without work stoppages. This is a trend that is likely to continue as we gain experience, and as unions and management work together and develop mutual confidence. There may be some steps we can take to hasten this process, and I would like to suggest them in a minute; but let me turn immediately to the question of strikes.

I can't overemphasize the fact that we in labour don't like strikes. Those who like them least are the men and women who walk picket lines and suffer the immediate consequences. I don't think management people like strikes either; but the fact is that we do have them and we are likely to have some of them in the future.

There seems to me to be too little realization of the fact that the right to strike is a vital part of our whole democratic system. This position was very well put by a commission appointed by the Governor of New Jersey two or three years ago to investigate the advisability of compulsory arbitration in public utilities. The commission was very strongly opposed to compulsory arbitration and, in the course of its report it dealt with the right to strike. Three specific points were made. Let me give them to you in the commission's own words:

"First, we know that the strike or the threat of a strike is an essential part of negotiations; without it there could hardly be an approach to equality in bargaining power of the kind our law seeks.

"Second, the denial of the right to strike would be incompatible with tradition and would strip the element of voluntarism from the labour agreement which is, after all, the objective of the process of collective bargaining as we understand it. An agreement, by its very meaning, is something voluntarily made by the contracting parties. Under our political and legal philosophy, an agreement may not be imposed by law or government directive. If it is, it is not an agreement of the parties, and it cannot then command their sense of obligation, and consequently has less chance of accomplishing the purpose for which it was designed.

"Third, we have not been able to devise a method of establishing the wage rates and other conditions of employment which is more efficient and at the same time consistent with our basic political thinking. The totalitarian kind of imposition and prohibition is abhorrent to us, and no authoritative voices have been raised to advocate such a course."

Those, as I said, are the commission's own words. I think there is probably general agreement with the commission that free collective bargaining remains the best method we have of arriving at an agreement on wages and working conditions. I certainly have no alternative to suggest; but I do suggest that we might do more constructive thinking than we are doing at present to better relations in the collective bargaining field.

About the time that this commission was making its study in New Jersey another group, under the sponsorship of the National Planning Association, was looking into what they properly described as "The Causes of Industrial Peace".

This is highly important because the fact is that the vast majority of collective agreements are reached by perfectly peaceful means. The record shows that 95% of the agreements negotiated in Canada last year were signed without a strike. It is true that from time to time we are faced with strike situations of considerable seriousness; but it is probably their rarity that attracts so much attention.

Time lost through illness was 25 times that lost through strikes; through unemployment it was 30 times greater. I sometimes think it is unfortunate that those editorial writers who devote so much time and space to giving advice on industrial relations do not use some of their efforts toward a reduction in these two great production robbers—illness and unemployment.

With such a high proportion of negotiations conducted without difficulty it certainly seems that we might profitably devote more attention to studies which would help make us familiar with the kind of conditions that lead to these good employer-employee relations.

The study that I speak of, conducted by the National Planning Association, arrived at some very definite conclusions, based on the experience of 138 companies. It was found that nine conditions lent themselves to industrial peace. Let me read them to you:

1. There is full acceptance by management of the collective bargaining process and of unionism as in institution. The company considers a strong union an asset to management.
2. The union fully accepts private ownership and operation of the industry; it recognizes that the welfare of its members depends upon the successful operation of the business.
3. The union is strong, responsible and democratic.
4. The company stays out of the union's internal affairs; it does not seek to alienate the workers' allegiance to their union.
5. Mutual trust and confidence exist between the parties. There have been no serious ideological incompatibilities.
6. Neither party to bargaining has adopted a legalistic approach to the solution of problems in the relationship.
7. Negotiations are "problem-centred"—more time is spent on day-to-day problems than on defining abstract principles.
8. There is widespread union-management consultation and highly developed information-sharing.
9. Grievances are settled promptly, in the local plant whenever possible. There is flexibility and informality within the procedure.

This is not an exhaustive list. It was developed as the result of experience in the United States, and there may be circumstances which in some respects differ in Canada. In any event I do suggest in all earnestness that work in this field might well be undertaken in Canada. I am sure that responsible union people and responsible representatives of management would be glad to co-operate. It is a matter in which the government might well concern itself. Universities might be of great assistance. We all stand to gain if the causes of industrial peace can be made more generally known and applied.

Now may I turn to another matter in which there is a great deal of current interest and, I think, a good deal of misunderstanding about labour's position—I refer to automation. Automation—it's a word our friends of 1903 certainly never heard of; in fact few of us heard of it until comparatively recently. Yet now such expressions as "electronic brains", "closed loop systems", and "automatic feedback controls" are creeping into our everyday language.

It is not surprising that, with a matter so new, there should be a good deal of uncertainty and guess-work. We *do* know that methods of automation can be used to greatly expand production and to provide us with many goods and services that have not previously been available. We know, too, that unless care is taken, automation can lead to considerable disruption and suffering.

Let me say, immediately, that organized labour is in favour of automation. We feel that the proper use of this new and developing knowledge can do much to fill the needs of the Canadian people, and of people in other countries. The long-term benefits of automation, properly used, can be of great benefit to all.

At the same time, we in the labour movement have a natural concern about some of the short-term problems that automation can bring; and, in fact, has brought. No one is sure just how fast automation will come or how widespread its application will be. Those who have studied the matter seem to be agreed that regardless of these uncertainties, automation will have an effect on jobs. Some jobs will be eliminated, others will be produced.

The glib suggestion that such developments always result, in the long run, in more jobs is, I suggest, merely a method of trying to avoid more immediate and pressing problems. A somewhat thoughtless employer may say to an employee, "We don't need you any more. We're putting in new equipment to do your job. Eventually it will mean more work for everyone."

But what about the worker of 45 years or more who gets a pink slip? Where is he going to turn? There is increasing hesitation to employ people above the 40-mark. Obviously the man who wrote "Life Begins at 40" wasn't talking about finding employment.

Admittedly our knowledge in this field is limited and there is a good deal of speculation. A University of Chicago study of 12 cases—and I point out only 12 cases —showed an average reduction in employment of 63% and average increase in production of 382%. It is the immediate situation of the 63% of these employees that concerns us. It is the time lag between the introduction of automation and its eventual benefits.

Here again, I suggest, there is need for study and consultation; and it has been with this in view that we have been urging the federal government to establish a council, or a committee, or some sort of machinery that would provide for discussion and a gathering of the facts.

We think a great deal of suffering can be avoided by determining, as far in advance as possible, what changes can be expected, and then seeing what can be done to meet them. Here, as in the field of collective bargaining, there is great need for the exchange of information and for understanding between management and the employees. Without such exchange and understanding it is inevitable that some employees will become needlessly alarmed. It is the human problem that needs our attention. There is a danger that we may be carried away with enthusiasm for new machines and new techniques. Human values must remain paramount.

Automation may be regarded, in a sense, as a sudden speeding up of a process that has been going on for some time. Back in 1903 it was not unusual for people to work a 60-hour week. Now the 40-hour week is fairly generally accepted. In the interval there has been acceptance of more statutory holidays and of longer vacations. People are staying in school longer, and so are entering the labour force at a later age. They are retiring earlier.

And yet, despite all these changes, production is increasing at a much faster rate than employment—the gap between production and employment is constantly widening.

This changing situation—and a situation which I say may change much more rapidly in the future—is a challenging one. It needs the best all of us can give.

Looking toward an automated age from a labour standpoint, we see the need for wages adequate to maintain a good standard of living, so that there may be a market for the great volume of goods and services that we expect will become available. Many unions are paying increasing attention to the seniority clauses of their agreements. It is natural that there will be a desire on the part of employers to re-train younger employees for automated jobs; but such a policy again raises the problem of the older worker. Shorter hours are inevitable.

Pension plans take on new significance and our Congress will continue to urge the adoption of an industrial pension scheme which would enable workers to contribute to a pension plan without sacrificing their mobility. There are too many instances in which an employee, for one reason or another, has to change his employment and so loses the benefits he has accumulated over the years under a limited type pension plan.

These, as I said, are all factors from labour's viewpoint; but we do not suggest by any means that it is enough. We are anxious to co-operate with management and with government in trying to come up with the solution to some of these problems now—rather than waiting until individuals are suffering and the solution is much more difficult.

I'm afraid that, up to now, I may have given the impression that labour's concern is almost entirely with wages and working conditions and is, therefore, rather selfish. This, of course, is not the case.

The concern of the organized labour movement in all progressive forms of social legislation is a matter of historic record. Labour unions here, and in other parts of the world, were in the forefront of the struggle to introduce compulsory education. When a platform of principles was adopted by the Trade and Labor Congress in Winnipeg in 1898, the first item was "free compulsory education". In those days the employment of children at the age of 12 was by no means uncommon. Progress has been made since that time; but we feel there is room for still further progress.

The sort of future I've just spoken about with automation is going to create a tremendous demand for highly skilled people. Already we are well aware of shortages of engineers and technicians. There is a crying need for more teachers. We think, therefore, that the opportunities for higher education should be extended. Every time a boy or girl, with adequate ability, has to cut short his or her education because of financial limitations there is a loss, not only to that individual, but to the country. There is an immediate need for the extension of university facilities and of bursaries, scholarships, or some other form of assistance to students who have academic ability.

If I may use the word "wages" just once more I would say that we were very pleased when the Gordon Commission spoke so emphatically about the urget necessity for improving the income of the members of university faculties. Not only do we need more people to give instruction in these institutions, but we need to attract the best people available. University professors do not genever negotiations they may undertake.

You are probably well aware that a comprehensive plan of national health insurance is a top objective of the Canadian Labour Congress. I spoke a few minutes ago of the time loss through illness—25 times as much as is lost through strikes. This can be measured in dollars as a tremendous loss in production. What can't be measured in dollars is the suffering and the shortened life which results from illness, a great deal of which might be prevented under a really comprehensive plan.

I said that labour's objectives were by no means all selfish. A large proportion of the people who make up the organized labour movement in Canada are already covered by various forms of hospital and medical plans which now form a part of collective agreements. But the majority of Canadians who have the greatest need of this kind of protection are without it. We want to see every Canadian man, woman and child covered by a plan which will assure them medical and hospital attention as automatically as everyone is now entitled to police and fire protection. We think the protection of human health rates in importance above the protection of property.

Finally, let me speak for a minute about still broader interests of the Canadian labour movement—our interest in international affairs. I notice that the object of your club is "the advancement of the interests of Canada and the United Commonwealth of Nations".

The structure of the labour movement is not unlike that of the Commonwealth. The labour movement is made up of a number of groups, all of which retain complete autonomy; but which share common principles and objectives. Just as the Canadian Labour Congress is the central body for a large number of unions in Canada, so we also have an international organization—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—to which various national organizations belong. This is a voluntary organization of some 60,000,000 workers in 75 different countries.

The word "Free" in the name of this organization is extremely important. These are the labour organizations of the free world. Under a dictatorship there can be no free trade unions. Just as trade unions have played an important part in raising the living standards in Canada, and in many other countries, so we are convinced, trade unions can be a great force toward improving conditions for people in the areas that are generally described as underdeveloped—and it is the people in these countries who may well determine the future course of the world.

These are the people to whom the Soviet dictators are directing attention. The men in the Kremlin look to these areas for further extensions of the Soviet Empire. The extent to which they have already extended the clutches of Soviet colonialism is seldom realized. Since the communists took control in Russia, Red domination has spread over 5,000,000 square miles and 732,000,000 people.

And this has taken place at a time when the western powers, and particularly Great Britain, has been giving independence to peoples who were once under a colonial status. Since 1900 the western nations have given independence to 694,000,000 people in areas that comprise 9,000,000 square miles.

The people of the so-called neutral countries—aligned neither with the West or the Soviet—are, for the greater part, the people of these under-developed countries. They face a choice, and in the light of their circumstances, economic conditions are bound to have a very great effect on the choice they may make.

We, in the Canadian labour movement, are anxious to see their conditions bettered; and that is why we have been continually urging our government to increase Canadian contributions to the Colombo Plan, to the United Nations' Technical Assistance Programme, and to other forms of assistance.

Beyond this we believe we have a contribution to make as trade unionists. Through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions we are helping these people to build organizations of their own so that they can help themselves. Too many of them suffer from conditions of economic colonialism.

We want to see them choose the democratic way of improving their conditions, and the democratic way means a co-operative effort in free collective bargaining. With this in view many of our organizations, and a good number of individuals, are making regular voluntary contributions to a fund which is used to conduct schools and classes to train trade union leaders. It is a difficult task. The size of the job is enormous. The difficulties are great —language is just one of them.

But, we in the free trade union movement know it is a task we cannot afford to ignore. We believe, most sincerely, that the extension of such democratic principles as free collective bargaining is the greatest hope—the only hope—of maintaining a free world. This means recognition of the sacred nature of the individual. It means recognition of a just method of arriving at the reward a man shall receive for his toil.

The creatures of the Kremlin are glib with their promises. They are masters of the art of propaganda. We must show that our way works. We must prove to these people, many of whom are so badly in need of help, that they *can* better themselves by democratic methods. This is a responsibility of which we in the Canadian labour movement are very well aware and to which we are devoting a great deal of attention. It is a very different type of problem to that faced by our brothers in 1903; but it is going to determine the kind of life that those who follow us will face in 2003.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by David J. Roche.

"THE CONTRIBUTION OF CREATIVE CHEMISTRY TO THE HUMANITIES"

An Address by

SIR MILES THOMAS, D.F.C.
Chairman, Monsanto Chemicals Limited, London, England

Thursday, February 14th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: It is three years since we had the pleasure of a visit from our guest speaker today but many of you will remember his address on October 8, 1953 when he talked to us about the impact of the jet in aviation.

Sir Miles Thomas is one of those people who seem to gravitate naturally to the wonder-working industries of his time and it is, therefore, no surprise that he is Chairman of Monsanto Chemicals Limited and has come to speak to us on Creative Chemistry.. After the First World War, our guest speaker learned his engineering in the practical school of a Birmingham engineering firm and when that war broke out he promptly joined an armoured car squadron. From the mechanized part of the army he went to the even more advanced form of martial pioneering known as the Royal Flying Corps. It was while fighting in the Middle East that he was awarded the D.F.C. for aerial combat and low ground strafing.

After the war there followed an interlude when Miles Thomas was Technical Editor of motor publications and interested himself in the development of small economical cars. In 1924 Mr. W. R. Morris of Morris Motors, later Lord Nuffield, invited Miles Thomas to advise on sales and commercial development in his organization. This was the beginning of 25 years' association between the two men and this collaboration saw output rise to 3000 vehicles a week. By 1940 Miles Thomas was Managing Director and Vice-Chairman of the whole Nuffield organization and upon him fell the brunt of the organization work necessary to turn over to munitions production in 63 separate factories and the administration of the big aircraft repair facilities which put 88,000 war planes back into the firing line. He was Knighted for these services in 1943.

Another great contribution in the public service was the Chairmanship of the Southern Rhodesia Development Co-ordinating Commission in 1947 at the invitation of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and a Directorship of the British Government Colonial Development Corporation.

In 1948, still in the forefront of developments, Sir Miles was appointed Deputy Chairman of British Overseas Airways Corporation and became Chairman on the 1st of July, 1949. The expansion and increasing efficiency of B.O.A.C. under Sir Miles Thomas' Chairmanship is well known and he must have been very proud of BOAC by the time he resigned as Chairman on June 30, 1956.

He was already a Director of Monsanto Chemicals Limited of London, England and he became Chairman on the 1st July, 1956. Chemistry has achieved great strides thus far in the 20th Century, but no one will deny that it is still on the threshold of developments which will change the look of civilization.

Sir Miles has chosen to talk about this fascinating present and future under the title of "The Contribution of Creative Chemistry to the Humanities" . . . Sir Miles Thomas.

MR. THOMAS: Today is Saint Valentine's Day, on which it has been customary for many hundreds of years to exchange tokens of affection. It seems to me, looking back on the events of the last twelve months, that, internationally anyway, there has probably never been such a dearth of affection since Valentine became a saint!

At times like this the bonds of affection and loyalty which unite the member countries of the British Commonwealth assume an even greater significance, and I should like first of all to say how greatly honoured I feel that you should have invited me to talk to you today.

Of course this isn't the first time I have visited this country, though I am here in a somewhat different role on this occasion. Until recently I came here as the chairman of British Overseas Airways and I took great pride in my office, for it was a physical symbol of the ties which exist between the countries of the Commonwealth.

Now I come as chairman of the British offshoot of the big Monsanto group, a company I am equally proud to serve, and which has a similar significance for it has a sister here in Canada. Its last expansion programme was helped in its finance by nearly ten million dollars of Canadian capital, your great insurance companies such as the Canada Life, the Sun Life of Canada, the Confederation Life and others being actively interested.

I am told that the name of Toronto is of Indian origin and means "a place of meeting". It seems unlikely that the Indians had in mind any such meeting as we are holding here today, but then, many things have changed since the meeting place of two hundred years ago became the fine city of today.

In those days Canada was for the most part unexplored territory. Now, in an almost miraculous transformation, she has become a great nation and can boast—though I find it almost impossible to believe—that her dollar is actually worth more than its American counterpart.

The factors which have helped to bring about these changes are far too numerous to repeat here, and in any case you know them better than I do. They boil down, however, to an inspired combination of vision and hard work, backed, of course, by the fabulous natural resources of this great country.

Until quite recently Canada has been more interested in winning a civilisation from the wilderness than in studying of fostering the humanities. This is only proper, for you must bake your cake before you can eat it. Nevertheless, though you are still seeking for and developing primary resources among the mountains, on the prairies and in the bleak northern territories, you are already firmly established in the second phase of your development.

You have become an industrial nation, and among the host of manufacturing activities you have built up you are refining oil and natural gas and turning them into scores of chemical and plastics materials. With these last products you have become producers of the magic building bricks from which the world of tomorrow will be made.

At the same time you have, like it or not, entered the lists in one of the great intellectual battles of our age. Should your young men and women seize the opportunities offered by Canada's great industrial expansion by becoming engineers, chemists, physicists, or would they make their greatest contribution to the future of your nation by pursuing the arts and humanities?

Where does the greater challenge lie—in the conquest of the material universe?—or in the conquest of man's own baser qualities? Material progress—in Canada as elsewhere—may sometimes seem to be too much of a good thing. Its blessings are frequently regarded with a healthy scepticism. Today I hope to show you some fresh aspects of the argument, and though I have chosen chemistry as the field of discussion what I have to say can be applied with equal force to any of the so-called material sciences.

It has been said that in the last forty years we have been through a social and economic revolution. These words seem to be somewhat trite. Man is a perpetual source of change. Human civilisation is itself a continuous and frequently violent revolution against Nature's basic doctrine of the inevitability of gradualness. Man is Nature's foremost revolutionary agent. She has achieved through him what, alone, she could never have brought about.

The ability of any living creature to survive is dependent upon the degree of mastery it can impose upon an indifferent and sometimes hostile environment. The majority of living things flourish only where environment is favourable or changes are so slow that evolutionary adaptation is possible.

A few, a very few, are able to exercise even a limited degree of control over their surroundings let alone to change them to their advantage. One creature, and one alone, has extended this control into a potential dominance, and that is Man.

Man is what he is because of his curiosity, and his curiosity stems from the fact that in order to master his environment he must first seek to know it intimately. That is why he has climbed Everest "because it's there", just as he split the atom because it was there to be split.

Some folk ask, "is 'progress' necessary?" This is a question with which, irrational though it is, we have all at one time or another had a sneaking sympathy, and no more so than when such products of progress as the hydrogen bomb have seemed to threaten our very existence. Nevertheless, it is a question which no intelligent man can take seriously.

Progress is not a commodity, to be taken or left at will. It is one of the immutable laws of Nature that any species of living being must progress or yield mastery to the more adventurous. Progress is not merely necessary; it is intrinsic to any dynamic society.

The whole of human progress is an upward march towards complete understanding from which, in due course, may come complete mastery. Then and only then, Man's inner drive tells him, can he feel secure.

Where our difficulties lie, and what prompts the fears of the timorous, is in the fact that we have not made commensurate advances in *every* sector of human knowledge. On the material front Man's obstacles are being pushed back relentlessly and with increasing speed. The faster we advance on the material front, however, the more we expose our moral and spiritual flanks to counter-attack.

In our battle for existence there is no such thing as a tactical withdrawal. The pressure must be maintained and the salient held at all costs. Such things as nuclear fission and jet propulsion are today bare-faced facts. We cannot discard our knowledge of them or act as if they had never existed. But we must guard against their side implications.

What then is to be the solution to this problem? It is not peculiar to our times. It has faced Man ever since he first struck fire from flint. It is in magnitude rather than in Nature that it grows more threatening. I believe that it embodies its own ethical solution. Material progress will itself be productive of moral progress.

The humanities, the arts, the moral sciences only came into existence when society had reached a stage at which the privileged few could enjoy modest well-being and a certain amount of leisure. In the days of the classical civilisation of the Eastern and Central Mediterranean such well-being and leisure were the products of slave labour. Since that time we have replaced human slavery, by and large, with the enslavement of the natural forces of the universe. Our cultural progress has been in direct proportion to the growing freedom from our environment which these forces have permitted us to enjoy. Thus, providing we can refrain from the ultimate step of destroying ourselves, the potential advantages of our growing material knowledge far outweigh the dangers.

"I wish," said Alfred Nobel, many years ago, "that I could produce a substance of such frightful efficacy for wholesale destruction that it would make wars impossible."

In dynamite he thought he had achieved his wish but, so far as wars were concerned, the direct effect was to make them more terrible.

But there is another side to the penny. Whilst dynamite was the precursor of a whole field of new and destructive military explosives it also opened the door to a better life for untold millions and nowhere more so than here in Canada.

Today, in every part of the globe, new dams, new irrigation systems, new power houses and new factories provide food, jobs and security for peoples previously enjoying little more than a precarious subsistence.

Without Nobel's frightful dynamite such developments would have been impossible. So would the winds of liberty and moral progress which blow with growing vigour in what for so long have been spiritually airless back-alleys of human culture.

I am, of course, propounding an intellectual platitude when I say that man's material discoveries are in themselves neither good nor evil. Their value, as with dynamite and nuclear energy, depends solely upon the way in which they are used.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the field of chemistry where, to take isolated examples, chlorine may be the means of purifying water; or of killing a man; and quicklime can be used to mix a mortar or destroy the damning evidence of an unwanted corpse.

Moral progress is of no real significance to the vast under-privileged majority of mankind until certain basic material needs are met. A saint may embrace poverty, but national poverty will not breed a race of saints.

It is the destiny of science to create the material climate which will nurture moral progress. The arts may point the way to paradise on earth, but it is science, and not the least the science of creative chemistry, which provides the means of getting there.

Chemistry began when man first sought to find out what went to make the things he found around him. As we all know, his early attempts at discovery led him far from the truth. When classical civilisation collapsed into the chaos of the Dark Ages there arose the alchemists, men nearer to fairground tricksters than modern scientists.

From them, however, sprang a band of honest seekers after truth who sowed the seeds from which grew the chemical industry. It is poetically apt that alchemy should, over the centuries, have given rise to those modern elixirs, the antibiotics and hormone drugs, and that from it should have grown a science which changes one element into another and creates substances where none was known before.

Yet even a hundred years ago the chemical industry could hardly be said to have existed as a coherent entity. In 1850 it was a sprawling, shapeless infant, odoriferous and dirty, loved, like so many small children, only by those responsible for bringing it into the world.

Chemists in many lands were exploring, isolating, propounding, but most of the products which are revolutionising our lives today were laboratory curiosities or—much more likely still—unknown.

As for chemistry's making a contribution to Man's cultural treasury, nothing could have been considered more ludicrous. Culture, in the nineteenth century, stopped short of science. Chemists, physicists and engineers were the new barbarians from whom chaos had come again.

How times have changed! Chemistry has become creative. A reaction induced on the laboratory bench may, like yeast in inert dough, leaven the whole of mankind, lightening and lifting it to heights undreamed of by its ancestors. In this respect Fleming and Florey were greater social revolutionaries than Marx and Engels.

The contemporary scene is dominated by the atom. Nuclear fission is one of the major discoveries of all time, and the circumstances of its birth have inevitably done much to impress the layman with the destructive rather than the constructive powers of the science that brought it into being.

Yet in the years ahead the technique of what is known as chemical synthesis may come to be regarded as far more important than splitting the atom, and I think it singularly appropriate that it should be so. Synthesis—which is creative chemistry—presents one of the most exciting challenges yet offered to human kind. It presents, to those who are bold and imaginative enough to accept it, the key to a literally new world.

Indeed, it may give us the key to life itself. The growth of a babe to a man depends upon complex chemical changes and synthesis which, slowly but surely, are being unravelled and simulated on the laboratory bench.

Already, human blood plasma can be replaced by man-made products, one obtained from sugar, another a completely synthetic chemical based on acetylene as the raw material. Thus, acetylene, which was once burned to give light, can now be used to support the very flame of life itself.

There is much more to it than this. We are beginning to see that a little reshuffling in the world of atoms and molecules may even change man himself—perhaps into superman! Maybe H. G. Wells was more of a prophet than he realised himself.

A hundred years ago, despite previously unparalleled advances in technology, our building bricks were still those provided by Nature. Now all that is changed. In the world of technology we have been promoted to a higher income group in which our materials can be tailor-made rather than just taken "off-the-peg."

In my own company we have a slogan—"Monsanto chemicals bring a better future closer"—and that, in common with other chemical companies throughout the world, is just what we are trying to do. In our research laboratories at Ruabon, Newport and elsewhere enthusiastic teams of scientists are playing with molecules with the same facility as our forebears played with building bricks. They are building, dismantling and rebuilding in ever more fascinating arrangements and all with the ultimate effect of making man's lot happier and more prosperous.

It would not be possible to itemise all the fields in which the chemist is actively interested at the present time. I would nevertheless like to consider in a little more detail some of the more important aspects of his work.

I shall also, quite deliberately, concentrate your attention upon some of the controversies which arise from the broader issues of this work.

Take, for example, the question of transport. Today our civilisation is firmly based on wheels driven by the internal combustion engine. What we must do, and are doing all the time, is to make the whole process of quick transport ever more foolproof, and the creative chemist plays a leading part in this task. The early car tire had an average life of 5,000 miles. Thanks to a variety of specialist chemicals which my company among others has pioneered in developing, this life has increased to more than 30,000 miles and now, again through the endeavours of the chemist, we are talking seriously of the 100,000-mile tire. The day when cars do not carry a spare wheel is not too distant either.

The same story applies in the case of the engine itself. The piston engine has been pushed to ever greater efficiency and petroleum chemistry has progressed, far from the first "straight run gasolines," to the "super" high octane fuels of today.

Crude oil has been shattered to molecular fragments by heat and catalysts, then reassembled to produce the special fuels which make possible our speedy and economical modern transport.

Similarly, jet and turbo-jet aircraft engines have demanded new lubricants which are met in many cases only by certain synthetic chemicals.

In the early days of the motor industry lubricating oils were more or less as supplied by Nature. Today, in our laboratories, batteries of petrol and diesel engines run almost nonstop, year in and out, testing tailor-made lubricants in which carefully synthesised molecules have wrought an amazing transformation. Without these molecules the world's millions of petrol and oil engines would more quickly grind to a halt, cylinders choked, bearings seized up, engines overheated and ruined.

All these things add up to safer and more efficient transport. They are important, but I believe that it will be the growing range of plastics materials which will bring about the greatest improvements in human comforts in automobiles. Canada, which has become an important producer of plastics materials, increasing its output of them by seven-fold since 1947, will have a large stake in such developments.

Already plastics play a great part in making roadfaring safer. The safety glass used in windscreens originated as a sandwich of a plastic sheet laminated between two glass sheets. The result is strong and splinter-proof.

I forecast that in the next fifteen years the interior fittings of the popular car will be fabricated almost entirely from plastics, only a basic shell being made of metal!

Our American parent company recently commissioned an experimental car interior in which plastics were used exclusively. The combined seat, its bottom and back frame is a one-piece reinforced moulding upholstered in polyurethane foam. Textured and pliable plastics replace traditional leather on the cushioning. The door and roof liners are of one-piece polystyrene and snap in or out of position, and plastic foam lining provides thermal and acoustical insulation. The instrument panel is a one-piece moulding and the floor covering is sprayed or laminated plastic.

In addition foamed plastics will be used for crash pads, and throughout the car the resilience of the new materials, combined with their flame-proof qualities and washability, will make for new standards of safety, comfort and cleanliness.

Aircraft, which like cars have played an important part in my life, are another example of the mixed blessing. Nothing is so likely to capture the headlines of the press as an air crash, nothing less likely to receive well-merited publicity than a million miles of safe flying. That, of course, is human nature, but once again it prompts some folk to think that life without aeroplanes would be a pleasanter experience.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Aircraft can carry bombs but they also carry relief for pain and suffering. They are sources of noise but also of a vast and growing international understanding which widespread travel brings. They are shrinking the face of the globe, making entire continents our next-door neighbours. From that, provided we grasp our opportunities, nothing but good can come.

The occasional disaster which is the price of such progress is also a challenge which is evoking some of the most intensive research the world has ever known. Thousands of men and women, many of them chemists, are working ceaselessly to improve upon the already high safety records of the world's airlines.

Flameproof materials of every description have been developed for use in the construction and furnishing of the modern airliner, and one of the most potent contributions towards the elimination of the fire risk on aircraft is the development in Monsanto Research Laboratories of a flame-proof hydraulic fluid called Skydrol that is now being used in all U.S. Air Force and Navy Trans-

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CLAUDE JODOIN MEETING, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1957. *From Left to Right*: Hon. Charles Daley; Claude Jodoin; D. H. Jupp; Sir John Tressider Sheppard; Rev. Charles McGuire.

SIR MILES THOMAS MEETING, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1957. *From Left to Right*: Leonard W. Brockington; Sir Miles Thomas; D. H. Jupp; Rev. W. W. Jarvis; Dr. Ira Dilworth.

ports and which is now available at major air terminals throughout the free world.

The new aircraft, which it would be impossible to produce without the help of the chemist in a hundred different ways, are working their own individual revolution in Man's ways and thoughts. Communications are the nerve system of civilisation and by helping in the great and continuous process of intermingling the world's peoples, their beliefs and their ways of life, the brotherhood of man is brought that much nearer.

Yet there are greater needs than rapid transport before that brotherhood can be made a reality. The air age has shown millions of less advanced peoples that life can provide something more than disease, semi-starvation and crushing poverty.

When discussion turns to the chemist's contribution to health one naturally thinks of what the daily papers refer to as "miracle drugs." It is certainly true that chemists, in collaboration with their medical colleagues, have produced a series of spectacularly effective weapons in the fight against disease. It must never be forgotten, however, that for every new antibiotic or sulpha drug there are scores of less glamorous materials which, in every country in the world, are helping the doctor in his mission of healing.

Aspirin, of which Monsanto has recently produced its one hundred millionth pound, was discovered just over a century ago. It is only today that we are beginning to realize what a versatile and invaluable drug it is. Indeed it is within the last year or so that medical research showed it to be almost as effective as cortisone for some rheumatic complaints, and much safer. This and other gifts of the chemist are lifting age-old burdens from less advanced peoples in many parts of the world, and as one disease after another is tamed or put to rout, so the population of our planet grows.

Each daily increase in roughly equal to the population of the busy city of London, Ontario. It is obvious, therefore, that we must do all we can to increase the world's food supplies.

We have all heard the gloomy forecast of the followers of Malthus. One day, they say, the world's peoples will outrun their supplies of food, with consequences which need hardly be dwelt upon. I find myself unable to accept this argument. When I walk through our chemical research laboratories I find on every hand the evidence of chemistry's growing contributions to the feeding of hungry humanity.

Fertilisers, weed and insect killers and other chemicals have, as every Canadian farmer knows, resulted in crop yields multiplying from five to ten times over the last century, although believe it or not some 50,000 diseases must be kept at bay to grow man's food and clothing. In addition those same chemicals have opened up to agriculture lands which were previously the undisputed domains of such killers as the tsetse fly and the anopheles mosquito.

Add to these factors such things as food preservatives, cheap, light and hygienic food containers, the role of plastics in the refrigeration industry, and you will understand my optimism. Science has been in the food producing industry for not much more than two centuries at the outside and its real contribution has only been felt in the last fifty years. We have scarcely made a beginning.

The same applies to clothing, which is another major requirement if we are to bring the backward races into the full comity of nations. Wool, cotton and other natural sources of textiles are already insufficient to clothe the world's population despite the huge increase in production which chemical protection of crops and livestock has brought about. The new chemical fibres will not merely fill the gap. They will eventually provide the larger share of human needs and in so doing they will free for food-producing purposes vast tracts of land which, equipped from the chemists' armoury, will go far to meeting increasing demands.

The widespread and growing use of synthetic detergents is also playing a notable part in increasing available food supplies, for edible oils formerly diverted to soap-making are now being freed in increasing quantities for human consumption.

And so I could continue. From the chemist's tubes come more food and clothing, better housing and safer transport, colours to delight our eyes, medicines to combat our ailments and a thousand new materials with which to transform our world. These are not the seeds of destruction, they are the instruments of a new hope and a new mastery.

Even the destruction of the atom itself is a source of hope. At our Newport factory is the first British industrial laboratory in which fission products are being put to peaceful and creative uses. One particular reason for our building such a laboratory is the attraction of a high-level energy source which may trigger off useful chemical reactions without the use of very high temperatures and pressures. It may be that, in due course, we shall learn how to replace traditional methods of chemical manufacture with comparatively simple radiation techniques which will enable us to produce valuable chemicals and plastics even more cheaply than at present.

I feel sure it will not be long before such a truly peaceful use of radio-active materials will become commonplace, merely another tool with which the chemists of Monsanto and other companies will mould and tailor the world of the future.

I am stressing the work of the chemist, but of course he only does half the job. When he has finished developing his new materials it is the turn of the technologists —the experts in engineering and production techniques.

The chemist synthesises a new large molecule or polymer. He knows its physical and chemical properties, but its practical applications are sometimes far beyond his initial expectations. What the new material will do by itself is so often immeasurably increased when technology has allied it with other materials.

The result, in many cases, is an alliance of the latest with the oldest, the synthetic with the natural, to produce substances which enrich humanity as neither could do alone.

Thus gear wheels are built from plastics reinforced with traditional fibres, wool and cotton are made shrink-resistant and waterproof, glass and wood find a hundred new applications in alliance with synthetic resins. The waste products from the forests of your own and other countries are allied with synthetic glues to provide new structural materials.

The whole vast panorama of technical progress today is the outcome of a series of alliances—Man with Nature, chemist with engineer, designer with craftsman and dreamer with doer. From these fruitful unions pours a swelling flood of benefits for human kind.

The classical requirements for happiness was a healthy mind in a healthy body. The fulfillment of spiritual needs is a major factor in creating mental and physical well-being but it is indisputable that material needs must be met before the seeds of moral progress can germinate. Until all mankind, rather than a chosen few, can live free from want, disease and discomfort it is of little use to bewail the lack of moral and spiritual standards.

The parable of the sower is still relevant. Some stony ground still remains. It must be tilled before the seed can sprout; and that is what creative chemistry is doing and will continue to do. Therein lies its contribution to the humanities—bringing the better future nearer.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. A. E. M. Inwood, a Past President of the Club.

"P.S.I. . . . PROJECT—SAMARITAN INTERNATIONAL"

An Address by

DONALD V. WILSON
Secretary General, International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, New York, N.Y.

Thursday, February 21st, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: This is Brotherhood Week and as you know we try to have a special speaker for our meeting each year when this week is being observed. Today we are particularly fortunate in being able to join with the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, in having a very distinguished speaker whose subject is most appropriate for Brotherhood Week. You will find, however, that there was no great need to select an occasion suited to his special subject so that we might invite Mr. Donald V. Wilson to address us.

A man of great distinction who would be welcome at any time, Mr. Wilson is a graduate of Muskingum College and received his LL.B. degree from the School of Law, Western Reserve University and the M.A. degree from the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. During the war, Mr. Wilson served in various assignments as a military government officer and saw extensive service in Japan, in both military and civilian capacity during the occupation. For this work he was cited by General Douglas MacArthur "for outstanding performance of duties and exceptional judgment and leadership".

Since 1949 Mr. Wilson has been Secretary General of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, which is a federation of 31 national organizations carrying out programmes for the physically handicapped. He is the Society's representative to the United Nations, the World Health Organization and other international agencies. His activities have brought him many honours including the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from Muskingum College in 1956 and it the same year he was the recipient of the Goodwill Award, conferred by the Goodwill Industries of America for outstanding service to handicapped people.

I have very much pleasure in presenting Mr. Donald V. Wilson, who will speak to us on the subject "P.S.I.—Project, Samaritan International".

MR. WILSON: Canada is a wonderful place to visit and I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss with you some world-wide problems confronting all of us today. The Ontario Society for Crippled Children has been active in our International Society for over thirty years and I'm always happy to have the opportunity to visit Toronto and see old friends. In our international programme there is a real need for a more active participation of Canadians and I trust that what I have to say will give you some idea of how you, as individual citizens and as members of organizations, can participate more effectively in many of the international programmes that have been established in recent years to benefit all the people of the world.

Since the end of the last World War we have made excellent progress in recognizing and solving some of our economic and social problems, but even more study and imaginative work is required. As your President has intimated I see the world from the viewpoint of a professional administrator in the field of international philanthropy. Philanthropy itself is one of our most ancient human activities and has existed in one form or another since human suffering and the possibility of improvement was first recognized.

The prospects of philanthropy are firmly based on religious doctrine. In fact all the great religions of the world include as a major tenet the obligation to share what we have in wealth, time and talents with other people. Philanthropy today is "bigger and better" and is truly an international undertaking. It operates on a world-wide basis along with our commercial organizations, our religious institutions and our military establishments, which are all now international in scope and activities. Philanthropy, along with medicine and law as well as religion, is now concerned not only with local and provincial problems but also with world-wide problems. This is not an entirely new idea, however, for many of our religious organizations have for years been concerned about human needs and wants in far-away places. In fact foreign missions have in the past seemed to have more attractions for some people than missions in our immediate environment.

There are several questions which have caused me a little difficulty in connection with arranging my talk with you today.

(1) We had some difficulty in agreeing on a title for what I intend to say. It was my thought that some simple words such as "World Action For Crippled Children" would be sufficient, but some of my advisors felt that to use so direct a title would indicate too clearly what I would talk about and you might decide to stay away. The title selected "P.S.I.—Project—Samaritan International" certainly has an air of mystery about it. A mystery I trust we can clear up in the next twenty minutes.

(2) It was also intimated to me that any appeal for funds would not be appropriate on this occasion. Now this is very real restriction to place on the administrator of a charitable agency that constantly faces an annual deficit. It is particularly frustrating for the one who comes to Canada from the land of the 96c. dollar. I do understand, however, that it would be in poor taste for me, as a guest, to try to collect any of these good Canadian dollars. If I seem to imply that money is needed I really don't mean it. Besides it is my previous experience that Canadians are generous people and do not need to be told to contribute.

(3) The third admonishment given to me in a very subtle manner was that a little humour—a few stories

and illustrations would not be amiss. Now I really agree with this advice for I have served as a speaker before in Canada. On previous visits to your country I have spoken after a banquet or lunch which had been preceded by what is quaintly called "hospitality" and I have tried to profit by previous experience by gathering together a few anecdotes in case a few of you begin to doze. (Of course it will be the luncheon and not the speaker who will cause you to go to sleep.)

Since by nature I a very serious person there was a real need for the advice given to me and I really had to consider this problem of securing appropriate stories. At first my idea was to tell some stories I had picked up on previous trips to Canada, but after I tried them out on my family and colleagues in the office I was told emphatically not to use them.

I also secured another piece of advice when I was trying to write down some of my ideas after I discovered that a written text of my speech was required for a book which I understand you publish each year. Apparently my original ideas were too full of advice and I was told to remember Socrates. He was a wise person; he gave advice to the people, the people gave poison to Socrates.

If I were preaching a sermon and asked for a text, I would not go to the scriptures of any of the great religions of the world, but I would cite to you a quotation from the great English historian, Arnold Toynbee, who has predicted that: "The Twentieth Century will not be remembered as a century of conflicts, wars and technical inventions, but the century in which human society first dared to think of the welfare of the whole human race as a practical objective."

This predcition about the century in which we live presents a real challenge and opportunity to all of us. It is thrilling indeed to realize that we are living in the age when mankind first dared to consider the welfare of the entire human race as a practical objective.

This prediction by Toynbee has been quoted many times during the past five years, and I as well as others, refer to it frequently, for it sets forth eloquently the hopes and aspirations of many of us who are engaged in international welfare activities. The quotation has been used many times by personnel of the United Nations and related organizations and in effect sets forth the hopes and aspirations of all of us for ourselves and our children. The future of ourselves as well as our children will be determined by the way we respond to this challenge.

There is a great ferment in the world today which presents a real challenge to Canadians and all North Americans. Recently I noted a reference to the fact that about one-third of the population of the world or something like 800,000,000 people are living in eighteen countries that have secured their independence during the last ten years. These people for the most part are living in areas which we have described as underdeveloped but where great strides are being made to develop industries which is accompanied by increasing urbanization. The people living in these places are becoming increasingly aware of the higher economic standards existing in North America and North Europe. They are trying to achieve in one way or another a higher standard of living for themselves and their children and in many cases they are trying to bring it about without going through the centuries of experiment on which our present standard of living is based. To understand this ferment throughout the world we should note that the combined population of North America (United States and Canada) and North Europe (United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Netherlands, Scandinavia) is less than one-half of the population in these 18 countries. Estimates made indicate that approximately one-sixth of the people of the world who live in these wealthy countries own and control over half of the wealth of the world today. Because we are fortunate enough to live in this section of the world we are confronted with new problems which we find frustrating when we try to solve them.

Organizations

One of the great needs in the world today is to develop organizations that will enable persons, no matter where they live, to work together effectively. We have been very successful in developing intricate organizations to make possible our international systems of transportation and communication. We have not been so successful in developing similar international organizations that deal with human problems although we have made a beginning with the United Nations, the World Health Organizations and many of our international voluntary and religious organizations that cut across national boundaries.

We frequently hear it said that the world is getting smaller. It is true that we have developed methods of transportation that enable us to move rapidly from one place to another distant spot. Our communications systems permit us to know immediately, whether we are interested or not, of happenings in all parts of the world. These new means of transportation and communication have indeed made the world smaller, but I wish to point out that the spiritual distances between people remain very great.

In order to reduce the spiritual distances separating people, we must establish more effective ways to enable them to understand one another. Understanding itself is not enough but can be the beginning of comprehending our community of interest with people in distant places. Understanding includes acknowledging the common aspirations and problems confronting us. There is no one individual responsible for the flight of an airplane from one country to another. Many people of different nations, languages and cultures, work together effectively to make such flights possible. We would be making real progress if we could develop similar effective international organizations to deal with other problems that require co-operation between different peoples.

It seems to me we will increase understanding between the peoples of the world if we can make our existing organizations more useful as an instrument to enable people to work together to solve economic, political and social problems. Personal contact helps the total problem but is not a complete solution—witness our continued existing bitterness between groups of peoples in the same country over differences in race and religion although there has been ample personal contact between the two groups for many years.

In a settlement house in which I once worked years ago we used athletic teams as a method of helping young people learn to work together. We noticed that the teams were organized on the basis of what was called a "natural group". Usually all the members of a particular club or team came from the same street of the district, a geographical group, or were of the same race or religion. Frequently, however, conflict between the clubs seemed to be increased by the tournaments and athletic contests. Finally, however, we hit upon the idea of selecting teams to represent the entire settlement in city-wide contests and then we observed a tendency to select the individuals for the settlement team on the basis of ability to play the game without regard to other differences. The trick was to find a way to enable the boys to form an organization that facilitated their working together. And we found that after working together to win a game the individuals developed a spirit of co-operation that carried over into other activities.

One of the forces that cause people to work together—that gives us the motivation to reduce the spiritual distances between people—is the common need to solve our mutual human problems. We do not solve existing problems in our communities by blaming others for causing them. We do achieve results by finding ways to work with others who are faced with similar problems.

It seems to me that frequently the social ills existing in our communities serve to bring persons together when other forces fail. One of the social needs which serves as a basis for co-operation is the large number of handicapped children and adults in all our communities. The need of special help from the community for the handicapped should be obvious but we do not yet have sufficient understanding of the entire problem.

Our experience indicates that there is a concern in all parts of the world about the problems of crippled children. A parent seeking help for his handicapped child travels willingly to the far ends of the world in trying to find help. In his search he disregards national boundaries and difficulties engendered by differences in religion, races and culture.

The other day, without any advance notice, a father and mother from Uruguay landed in New York with their fourteen-year-old son who was stricken with polio about two years ago. They had no knowledge of English but confidence that their son would learn to walk if they could only get him to New York. Not so long ago a father and mother from the Philippines came to my office with their nine-year-old son who had a severe heart condition. They had borrowed money and gone deeply in debt to make the trip for they had been told by their doctors at home that their son's condition might be improved by a heart operation that could only be performed by one or two doctors in this part of the world. These are only two examples of many that could be given of people in all parts of the world who will reach out to insure a better future for their handicapped child.

To respond adequately to such requests takes a great deal of time, money and skill. How we respond, however, determines in a large measure how our own individual contribution to society and the status of the country and community in which we live. There are many people who are rightly concerned with the problems of the handicapped only in their own home community.

Frontiers

Frequently the most difficult frontier for many people to cross is the railroad tracks in their own city which separates the economically advantaged from the disadvantaged. After we cross this frontier in our own communities we gradually realize that the future of ourselves and the members of our family is intricately bound up with the total welfare of the entire community and the welfare of the province and the nation in which we happen to live. It is only recently that we have been able to discern clearly that our own future is also dependent on the welfare of people in distant places.

Our experience indicates that in our international rehabilitation programme in our work for the handicapped people of the world, we have an international language that transcends all other languages that enables the peoples of the world to understand one another despite differences of language, race, religion and national origin.

Our opportunities and responsibilities become more urgent as the number of persons with crippling limitations increases in all parts of the world. Increased industrialization and urbanization increases the number of the disable as well as the concomitant decrease in infant mortality rates. In an industrialized society we find more disabled people but at the same time we find increased opportunities for them for with the aid of machines and better means of transportation such persons can participate more fully in society than is possible for them in an agricultural community. As has been said so many times, society pays today primarily what is in an individual's head and his hands rather than for brute strength. Because many of the handicapped have strong minds and hands it is usually possible for them with a little special help from the community to secure work and make a real contribution to the life of the community in which they live.

The World Congress held in Stockholm some years ago brought people from all parts of the world together in a great international meeting where experiences were shared and concern expressed over this large segment of our population. One of the speakers at the banquet for the Congress was greatly impressed by the fact that the cripple was serving as a bond that brought people together. He referred to the cripple as a stone rejected by the builder—which has become the cornerstone of a great international endeavour.

The cripple does indeed present a real challenge to all of us and it can be truly said that what we do in respect to this challenge will largely determine the worthwhileness of our own individual lives as well as determine the future of our own children and the society in which we are fortunate enough to live today.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Dr. Harold V. Cranfield.

"BRITAIN; TODAY AND TOMORROW"

And Address by

SIR SAVILLE GARNER, K.C.M.G.
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom,
Ottawa, Ont.

Thursday, February 28th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: We have been waiting impatiently for the pleasure of a visit from our honoured guest of today as it is several months since we learned that Sir Saville Garner was to take up the appointment of High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Ottawa. In point of fact, however, it is only a few weeks since he took up residence and we are grateful that Sir Saville has taken the earliest opportunity to be here.

Our speaker joined the Civil Service after graduating from Jesus College, Cambridge and entered the Dominions Office in 1930 serving as Assistant Private Secretary and later Private Secretary to Secretaries of State for Dominion Affairs whose names are well remembered by us all—J. H. Thomas, Malcolm MacDonald, Lord Caldecote, the Marquis of Salisbury and Mr. Attlee. He visited Canada in 1941 and 1942, and the following year came to the Office of the United Kingdom High Commissioner for five years. When he returned to London in 1948, he had been Deputy High Commissioner for two years and his new job was Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office. In 1950 he attended the meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in

Colombo and was promoted to Deputy Under-Secretary. The period from June 1951 to April 1953 was spent as U.K. Deputy High Commissioner to New Delhi; interestingly enough the High Commissioner at first was Sir Archibald Nye who was then switched to Ottawa in an exchange of posts with Sir Alexander Clutterbuck. Three years as Deputy Under-Secretary in London followed his return from New Delhi and now Ottawa.

It was in 1948 when he left Ottawa that he was made a CMG—and in 1954 that he was advanced in this order to Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. His Ottawa office engagingly assures us that Sir Saville Garner is none other than Joe Garner who knows Canada well and whom many Canadians have known of old. We welcome him now as "ambassador" from Whitehall to Ottawa speaking to us on "Britain—Today and Tomorrow".

SIR SAVILLE GARNER: You would not, I am sure, in any talk about Britain today expect me to ignore the issue of Suez which has dominated our political and economic life in recent months. I would not however propose to go into all the details of the Anglo-French action or to say anything controversial about the past in a situation which so clearly calls for patient diplomacy to get things right.

But I would first say a word about the background as it affects Britain.

Oil and the Middle East

Britain is an industrial country and must export or die. We live by world trade and must have the means to manufacture for sale abroad in order to pay our imports. In the industrial revolution we were well endowed by nature since we had rich quantities of coal and iron. But we do not have in our islands all the natural resources for modern industrial production. I shall say a word later about atomic energy, but we cannot hope to replace all our needs by atomic energy power overnight. Above all, at present, we need oil.

Since there is virtually no oil in the British Isles, there is surely nothing immoral in acquiring it from elsewhere. The Middle East is immensely rich in oil—it is the most convenient source of supply and it is an area with which we have traditionally been closely associated. Our oil companies and U.S. companies in conjunction with them have, therefore, throughout the years made gigantic investments in the countries of the Middle East, they are of course now making substantial investment in Canada; they have developed the resource in a way that could never have happened if the countries were left to themselves and they have added immeasurably to the wealth of those countries.

The discovery and export of oil has certainly not been a one-way process. The experience of Iraq shows this most clearly. Iraq has taken advantage of the possibilities of working in partnership with the oil companies. Her 50% share of the profits amounts in a normal year to nearly $300 million. Of this 70% is by law devoted to the economic and social development of the country. The Iraq Development Board is active in the building of great irrigation and flood control works, in expanding communications, in establishing schools and hospitals. Iraq has with some justification been called the Canada of the Middle East.

But it is not enough to extract the oil. It must be delivered. Here was the vital importance of the Suez Canal to us—the Canal which was built by European enterprise, safeguarded by an International Convention, operated and developed by an international company—the Canal which had been kept open for all ships of all nations since its construction, when all this was put in jeopardy by Colonel Nasser.

As regards the Middle East generally there are four urgent problems.

(1) Clearing the Canal.
(2) Permanent arrangements for the Canal.
(3) Israel-Arab tension.
(4) General security in the area.

(1) The Canal is one of our life-lines and is vital to us and also to Western Europe and much of Asia. It must be cleared with all possible speed.

(2) Thereafter there must be international agreement about its operation and development, the payment of dues so that it fulfils its historic role of providing free transit for all nations.

(3) The war between Israel and Egypt which was stopped by the Anglo-French action must not be allowed to break out again. The U.N. and the U.N.E.F. have here a vital part to play.

(4) The area as a whole has been unstable and insecure: there are great contrasts of poverty and wealth and there is the constant threat of Communist infiltration. This is where the proposals behind the Eisenhower doctrine with their promise of economic aid and military help if necessary will come in.

But today at this moment the Canal is still blocked. There is no agreement for its future operation immediately in sight and there is still tension between Israel and the Arabs though strenuous efforts are being made at the present moment in New York to try to find a solution. Today therefore the problems that existed before the Anglo-French action still remain. They can only be solved if all countries of goodwill work together. For our part we have put our faith in the United Nations and we look to them to achieve solutions.

The blocking of the Canal has of course brought some hardship to the people of Britain and has meant a setback to some of our hopes. The closing of the Canal has meant that we cannot get oil from the Middle East, it has involved the long sea-route round the Cape for all shipping and has inevitably caused disturbance to trade. It is not we alone who have suffered, but all the countries of Western Europe, many in the Middle East and also the countries in Asia like India who rely on the Suez Canal for their trade.

There are therefore difficulties, but they can and indeed must be overcome. We hope that the Canal may again be open to all traffic before long and the present difficulties should only be temporary.

United Kingdom Economic Position

There is nothing fundamentally weak in our economic position. The rate of increase in production in the United Kingdom from 1948 to 1956 has been as large as in the United States. Compared with 1938 the increase in productivity has been the biggest in Europe; one of 30%.

The fact is that in the last five years the average standard of living has risen steadily by 3% a year and the real national income has gone up by over £2,000 million. Our trading position is and remains strong. Our trade with the whole world for 1956 was over £3,000 million—an increase of nearly 10% over the previous year and an all-time record. And I am glad to report that Canada took a much larger slice—nearly $500 million for the year, a startling jump of over 26%.

In spite of the well-known imbalance in our dollar trade, in recent years we have followed an increasingly liberal policy of providing dollars for new direct investment in Canada. In the last few years the average figure has been well over $100 million and this investment covers all fields of Canada's economic activities from aircraft and chemicals to uranium metals and engineering.

We are determined to keep Britain a modern, competitive, up-to-date country geared to the speed of the 20th century. We also have to relate our expenditure to our resources and the present Government are determined to put our economic affairs on an even keel. They have already announced measures to reduce some of the cost of the National Health Service and of the programme of subsidies.

United Kingdom Defence Policy

One of Mr. Macmillan's first acts after becoming Prime Minister was to appoint Mr. Duncan Sandys as Minister of Defence and to give him a directive charging him to carry out reductions in our defence expenditure.

There are two reasons why some re-shaping of our defence effort is necessary: in the first place we need to bring our strategic thinking into line with recent military—and particularly nuclear—developments. In the second place we must relate our defence effort to our resources.

Mr. Sandys made a point of early consultation with the American and Canadian Governments. He was in Washington at the end of January and then came to Ottawa for two days.

He has recently explained his task as being to re-shape and not mutilate the armed forces.

The realities of the situation today are that the U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R. all have and are manufacturing atomic bombs. The U.S.A. have also developed the hydrogen bomb and it is wise to assume that the Russians have done the same. The development of the first hydrogen bomb by Britain is now almost complete.

In addition ballistic missiles with appalling destructive power are available and will no doubt improve their grisly efficiency with further research and experience.

Against these ballistic weapons there is—at present at least—no known answer. In these circumstances war—nuclear war if it came today—would cause colossal havoc and destruction—and would cause it to both sides.

There is only one policy in reply to this horror story—to see that war never happens.

That is why we are building up the deterrent—to prevent aggression by showing that we too have power to deliver destruction by nuclear means and the ability to offer instant and devastating retaliation. But we would gladly accept any limitation that was genuine and was effectively guaranteed by real international agreement.

At the same time Britain and her allies in NATO have to maintain well-equipped forces along the iron curtain—to make it plain that aggression would meet with effective resistance and to ensure that Western Europe is not over-run. We intend to continue to play a full part in all this and will meet our fair share of the burden. But we cannot meet more than our full share—we have hitherto been devoting a higher proportion of our resources to defence than every other country in the Alliance except the U.S.A. and we are currently consulting our allies on what reductions in manpower and cost could be made without significant reduction in efficiency.

Britain's defence policy therefore is to re-shape the armed forces in the light of the economic realities and of the military realities of this atomic age. We must concentrate our defence effort not on preparations for war, but on measures to prevent it, not on planning for victory, but on the protection of peace.

Atomic Energy For Industrial Purposes

But let me get away from atomic weapons as the scourge of mankind and say something of how Britain is developing nuclear energy for peaceful and industrial purposes.

I have already spoken of our dependence on oil. At present we rely almost entirely for power on oil and coal. Coal on which our wealth was built up cannot be mined so easily or plentifully as in the past.

But immediately after the war plans were laid for the future. We set our scientists to work on the problems of producing atomic power for industry. After years of exciting research the decision was taken to set up atomic energy plants for industrial power production and the first of these, Calder Hall, came into operation last year and was opened by The Queen in October. Our hopes have been so far fulfilled that the decision has already been taken to set up four new stations and it may well be that in a few years all new power stations to be built in the United Kingdom will be atomic.

I myself paid a visit to Calder Hall before I left and found it most inspiring. Atomic energy is certainly something quite new in industry.

As a matter of interest the various parts of the station are picked out in a variety of colours—which I understood led Mr. Malenkov on his visit to enquire why red had not been chosen for at least one of the turbines.

Incidentally the scale of our atomic energy programme means that we shall continue to need substantial supplies of uranium and we hope to get much of this from Canada.

Immensely difficult technical problems had to be surmounted and the total cost of the whole programme is vast. The decision to go ahead on so big a scale at this stage therefore required great courage and is an immense investment in the future.

The significance of Calder Hall is that it is the world's first demonstration that atomic power can be generated not in miniature but on the scale on which electricity is normally generated and can be produced at a commercial competitive price. The vision behind the plan to turn it into the world's first commercial atomic power station is the biggest and most successful venture that post-war Britain has taken.

Free Trade Area With Europe

Another initiative that has recently been taken by the British Government is the programme for a Free Trade Area with Europe.

One of the criticisms one sometimes hears is that the day of the small countries is gone and that we ought to co-operate more closely with Europe.

Well, we are hoping to do something about that.

We have always been keen to help co-operation with Europe and have played our part in O.E.E.C., Western Union, and in N.A.T.O., but we have been baffled in the past in developing really close trade relations because we would not enter into any arrangement with Europe which was at the expense of our Commonwealth relationships.

The six countries of Europe have already announced their intention to form a Common Market. For a variety of reasons we could not join that Union but we now think we have found a means of association which will safeguard the position of the Commonwealth.

We have made proposals for a free trade area. This means quite simply that all countries joining it would eventually admit goods from the other members duty free, but would be able to maintain their own tariffs towards the outside world. In this way we shall be able to maintain the present duty free entry for Commonwealth goods into Britain.

If we succeed we shall have developed a free trade area serving 250 million people. This holds out great prospects for the future, not only for Western Europe and Britain but for world trade as a whole, since a strong, prosperous and stable Europe is the best guarantee of world prosperity. And if in this way we can increase our own wealth we shall be in a stronger position to dismantle those final barriers which still remain against dollar trade and to achieve an objective of non-discriminatory multilateral trade.

The Commonwealth

Remembering that one of my hosts is the Empire Club, I feel that I should say one word about what Sir Winston Churchill delighted to call the "British Commonwealth and Empire".

I have always felt certain in my own mind that 1947 marked a great event in world history when India, Pakistan and Ceylon voluntarily decided to remain in the Commonwealth. This was a tribute to them and also I think to us.

But of course the process of transfer of power did not stop in 1947. Indeed it is going on all the time. Indeed, only next week another milestone will be passed and an exciting development in Commonwealth affairs will take place. On March the 6th next the Gold Coast will achieve its independence and, with the approval of all existing Commonwealth Members, will be recognized as a new full member. The ceremonies in Accra will take place in the presence of the Duchess of Kent as The Queen's Representative and of representatives of all Commonwealth Governments.

Malaya has also been promised and is likely to achieve full independence this year. This is a very remarkable development when you consider that terrorism was recently so rife in the country. Malcolm MacDonald, who is so well known in Canada, has played a great part in building up a multi-racial community in Malaya. Other territories will follow this pattern and in the not too distant future Nigeria and the West Indies.

In the words of The Queen in her Christmas Day broadcast, the Commonwealth is "one of the most hopeful and imaginative experiments in international affairs that the world has ever seen".

I am sure that it will enjoy greatly *added* strength if not only the peoples of South Asia but also those of South East Asia, Africa and the West Indies are brought in.

This can certainly come about and it will be a major factor in world history if it does. But it will only do so if all of us show sympathetic understanding and give practical help —not only the U.K. but all existing members —an no-one has a greater part to play than Canada.

The Atlantic Alliance

I have said something about the general international situation, about Britain's economic position and about the Commonwealth. I have left till the conclusion a reference to one of the most significant factors in the world situation today—the power and influence of the U.S.A.

You in Canada have the strongest of reasons for close friendship with the American people—but so have we. We have been allies in two world wars, we are allies today in NATO and SEATO—and we are allies in many vital ways far more significant than any merely formal ties.

It was a profoundly disturbing fact when towards the end of last year there came a rift in that Alliance. It is futile to go into the causes—no doubt there were faults on both sides. But the times are too serious for the luxury of differences between friends. We must work not merely for the absence of disagreement, but for real understanding and for positive and constructive co-operation, militarily, economically and politically.

In his first broadcast after becoming Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan said—

"A lot of people are worried about our relations with the United States. The life of the free world depends upon the partnership between us. Any partners are bound to have their differences now and then. I have always found it so. But true partnership is based upon respect. We do not intend to part from the Americans and we do not intend to be satellites. I am sure they would not want us to be so. The stronger we are, the better partners we shall be; and I feel certain that as the months pass we shall draw continually closer together with mutual confidence and respect."

I am sure you all welcomed the news that he is now to meet President Eisenhower, with whom he worked so closely during the war, in Bermuda later this month. It is excellent too that he will be meeting Mr. St. Laurent at the same time. This gives a magnificent opportunity for a true meeting of minds and I hope that from Bermuda a real message of the vitality of the Atlantic Alliance will ring round the world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Brig. W. P. Gilbride.

"SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN DIPLOMACY"

An Address by

THE HONORABLE
LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT
United States Ambassador to Canada

Thursday, March 7th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: We are highly honored to have a visit today from His Excellency the United States Ambassador to Canada. He is now a career diplomat but when he graduated from Princeton University he joined an investment-counselling firm in New York becoming a partner in 1930 and it was not until March 1942 that he joined the Department of State. Thus he took 16 years' experience in private business to Washington.

The variety of his assignments in the Department of State makes very interesting reading and I might mention Chief of the Division of Defense Materials; Chief of the Blockade and Supply Division; Chief of the Eastern Hemisphere Division and Chief of the War Areas Economic Division, all war time assignments. Then there were missions abroad such as membership of a Presidential mission to investigate civilian economic problems in Europe and supply needs of the Allies in 1945. In October of that year he was named Counsellor for Economic Affairs with the rank of Minister at the American Embassy in Paris. While in this appointment he was also representative on the Central Rhine Commission at Strasbourg and on the European Central Inland Transportation Organization. In 1946 he returned to the State Department as Chief of the Aviation Division and in 1947 Deputy Director of the Office of Transport and Communications. Then came a year as Counsellor at the U.S. Embassy in Nanking and a return to Washington in 1949 for a two year period as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. In November 1951 his assignment changed to a newly created position involving the coordination of all activities within the Department of State related to programs of economic and military assistance to friendly nations. In 1952 and '53 Mr. Merchant was alternate permanent representative of the U.S. on NATO, an assignment which ended with his appointment as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. It was on May 9, 1956 that he was sworn in as United States Ambassador to Canada.

This fairly detailed recital of some of the key appointments held by Mr. Merchant indicates quite clearly the experience in business, in Washington and abroad, upon which our distinguished guest bases his address to us on "Some Aspects of Modern Diplomacy".

MR. MERCHANT: It seems to me that in most of my recent speeches in Canada I have been skating carefully, if not skillfully, on ice which in spots was thin. A month or so ago I spoke before the Canadian Club in Montreal on recent developments in the Middle East and on American foreign policy in relation to those developments.

On my last visit to Toronto in the Fall, I discoursed at some length on United States policy with respect to the disposal of agricultural surpluses, a topic which by my observation is a lively one in Canada and not free from controversy. I recall that that speech produced a cartoon in the TELEGRAM which I could only interpret as being intended to portray me playing an ignoble role in a horrible traffic accident.

All this is by way of saying I have decided this noon to give both you as my captive audience and myself a holiday from current, serious problems. A contributing factor to this decision—which I trust you will find praiseworthy—is the fact that I have just returned from three weeks' holiday in Florida. On my return, when the time came to assemble some thoughts for your delectation, I found myself still somewhat in a holiday mood, disinclined to grapple with wheat, or canals, or investments, or neutralism, or Communist China, or contentious issues of any description.

With rare foresight I had before my departure southward selected a title sufficiently innocent yet elastic for my purpose. As you know, I am speaking today on "Some Aspects of Modern Diplomacy."

Now, we all appreciate that the age in which we live is one in which the conduct of international relations plays an almost frighteningly important part in the lives of nations and of ourselves as individuals.

In a single lifetime the world has undergone two global wars. We have been for years, and I am satisfied we will remain for years, locked in a contest for the survival of our institutions and possibly our national lives with a great power center dominated by the conviction that the forces of history are on its side and that, by one means or another, it will in time achieve world domination. The so-called "cold war" in which we now live erupted into bloody fighting in Korea in 1950. There has hardly been a year in the last decade which has not seen civil war or rebellion or other fighting some place in the world.

It is, I take it, the function of diplomacy to defend the vital interests of a country and to exhaust every means of honorably resolving conflicts of interest; resolving them by negotiation in the unceasing effort to establish an enduring peace with justice. That, as I see it, is what diplomacy is all about.

Over the years, circumstances and relationships change. Science produces new tools for diplomacy to employ. The object and purpose of diplomatic intercourse remain the same but the techniques undergo constant change.

As one who has attended a good many international conferences since the end of the last war, I have always been fascinated by stories of the Congress of Vienna nearly 150 years ago. Many of its participants proved accomplished biographers so there is much material available. I know well the mirrored room in the palace in

Vienna where the Congress sat, its proportions destroyed by the five doors leading into it.

You may remember that in its original architecture the great hall had had, quite properly, only two doors. But the presence at the Congress of five crowned heads, each claiming equality with if not precedence over the other four, led to a crisis both of protocol and of architecture. With only two doors, only two of the five kings and emperors could enter the room simultaneously for a session of the Congress.

The crisis was resolved by chopping three additional doors to enable all five to enter the room at the exact same second. It was a protocol success but an architectural monstrosity.

And, as a matter of fact, one of the great achievements of the Congress was to settle various problems of protocol, problems which had not merely plagued the social relationships of countless ambassadors for several centuries, but which at times had brought Europe to the verge of war.

Take the question of the problem of precedence. Ambassadors used to be ranked according to the antiquity of their country. Sir Harold Nicolson reminds us that the Pope in 1504 compiled a table of precedence. Under it the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire came first, the King of France second, the King of Spain third, and so on through the lesser kingdoms and principalities. The King of England ranked seventh, just after the King of Portugal and just before the King of Sicily.

As new nations came into existence and old ones declined in power, this list of seniority fell into dispute and international relations became at times seriously embroiled.

Nicolson tells us that one of the worst of these recurring incidents came in 1661 in London, "when the coach of the Spanish ambassador tried to push in front of that of the French ambassador and a battle occurred with loss of life among the footmen and postillions." This led to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Paris and Madrid and brought both countries to the brink of war.

He goes on to say, "As late as 1768 at a Court Ball at London the French ambassador, observing that the Russian ambassador had established himself in a front seat next to the Austrian ambassador, climbed round over the back benches and inserted himself physically between them." Nicolson laconically concludes that: "This led to a duel in which the Russian ambassador was severely wounded."

To this problem, which seems to us today ridiculous but which was of deadly importance even at the beginning of the 19th century, the Congress of Vienna addressed itself. With admirable simplicity, the Congress decided that the order of rank or precedence for ambassadors at any capital was to be determined by the date on which each envoy had presented his letters of credence.

Everyone has been happy ever since with this decision.

On the more serious side, however, the peace which emerged from the Congress of Vienna lasted almost exactly 100 years. For this, if for no other reason, it is of interest to consider some of the techniques of diplomacy then employed and to examine some of the techniques of diplomacy employed or forced upon us today.

I suppose nothing has had so revolutionary an effect upon the conduct of diplomacy in the past century and-a-half as improvements in the art of communication. I have no need to list the developments which have taken place and now form the fabric of our daily life. The process continues and no end to it is in sight. Yet the statesmen at the Congress of Vienna could communicate with their capitals no more quickly than the Romans at the beginning of the Christian era. I dare say communications were not as good, for the famous roads of Roman times had no counterpart in early 19th century Europe. It was not unusual for a diplomat in the remoter areas of that time to be without instructions from his home government for half a year or longer. Even in more accessible regions, delay was far from unusual. The other day I read a letter from our Minister in London dated June 27, 1786, to the Secretary of State which begins, "Sir: I have just received the letter you did me the honor to write on the first day of May. . ." (This was 57 days earlier). The Minister then referred to a letter he had written on March 4 of that year and to which he had had no reply because, ". . . we hear that the vessel which carried out that despatch sprung a leak at sea, put into Lisbon and did not sail hence until late in April . . ."

Less than two centuries ago the Ambassador of France required two and a half months to travel from Paris to his post in Stockholm. Yet I think of one trip I took in September 1954 to Bonn and London with Secretary Dulles. (Story).

The speed of modern communications coupled with the complexity of relations between states today have wrought great changes in conferences since Vienna. They have almost inevitably turned the modern conference into a mass meeting. At the last Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers a little over a year ago, the average size of the four delegations must have come close to 200 people, if one counted in addition to the Foreign Minister and his political advisers all the research assistants, the experts, press attaches, code clerks, security guards, secretaries, and administrative staff. Yet I recall reading that Talleyrand went to the Congress of Vienna attended by his nephew's wife, one junior diplomatist, not his nephew, and two clerks. And Lord Castlereagh had only fourteen in all his party, which included his cook.

The diplomat, of course, benefits from improvements in communications and makes daily use of them. There are disadvantages, too. I remember last summer, I was on Vancouver Island . . . (Story).

He has gained in the speed with which his reports can be transmitted and in the number of persons he can reach. He also gains in perspective. It is difficult to maintain a balanced view of the world importance of developments in the country where one is stationed. There is a natural tendency to exaggerate their importance. In days gone by, the diplomat had little knowledge of what was happening in other parts of the world and there was an even greater tendency for daily events around him to assume an importance out of proportion to their true value. Today he has more information about happenings outside his own area than he can comfortably digest. Not only do the newspapers and radio keep him informed, but his government sends him copies of despatches and cablegrams from its posts around the world.

Modern communications enable the diplomat to obtain prompt, expert advice from home that was never available in an earlier age. An ambassador is thus supported from home by a staff of advisers numbering thousands and which can provide assistance on any one of a hundred technical subjects. This support is only as far away as the nearest telephone. And 24 hours will take him home for consultation from almost any capital in the world.

Modern communications have made possible to an unprecedented degree the conduct of personal diplomacy by the chief officers of a government. The Summit Conference in 1955 in Geneva was a striking example of this kind of diplomacy. Not only was the President of the United States able to meet personally with the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France and the leaders of the Soviet Union, but he was also able to keep in daily hourly contact with Washington on all those matters which required his attention. Secretary of State Dulles, since 1953, has travelled hundreds of thousands of miles by air in the course of his duties.

Your own Prime Minister St. Laurent and External Affairs Minister Pearson are also accomplished world travellers, and Minister of Health and Welfare Martin has just returned from a trip which illustrates in spectacular fashion the potentialities of modern communications in this respect. It has been argued that such visits by high officials detract from the value of permanent representatives abroad. I believe, however, that a visit of a foreign secretary or other member of the Government reinforces the work of the local representative rather than detracts from it. Furthermore, there is no substitute for the personal knowledge which a government official acquires on such visits.

With the snail's pace of communications a century and a half ago, an ambassador of necessity had wider and more absolute authority than his modern successor. His title, "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary," could be taken quite literally. I recall the story of the Louisiana Purchase early in the 19th century. The two United States envoys, Livingston and Monroe, had been instructed by our government to try to purchase from Napoleon the city of New Orleans and adjacent territory. They were authorized to spend a maximum of 10 million dollars. To their amazment the French foreign minister suddenly offered them half a continent for 15 million dollars. They accepted the offer on their own, although ratification of their act depended upon the Congress which did not give its assent without considerable opposition. I often wonder what would have happened if there had been cable connections between Paris and Washington in those days.

I do not, however, myself think that the improved speed of communications has in fact diminished the ability of an Ambassador to influence events with the course of which he is concerned. It is true that distance and slow communications in days gone by offered exciting freedom of action to the bold, the enterprising, the freewheeling ambassador of those times. In most cases, however, this same element of distance and poor communications froze an ambassador into total passivity.

There has been produced, however, by the speed of modern communications a tendency to centralize the decision-making process in the home capital. This development is not limited to diplomatic affairs but has also taken place, I think, in war, in commerce and industry, indeed, in most phases of modern life. One of the dangers of this trend is that those who make the decisions will be out of touch with real, local life. In large part, this tendency in the field of diplomacy has been offset by the increasing importance of the ambassador as an adviser. Though his power as a negotiator may have diminished, the complexities of modern diplomacy cause his government to rely more and more upon his analysis and judgment of a given situation. His influence is often the determining factor in the decision.

Through modern communications then, the diplomat has gained a new perspective in his work. He looks out on the world through more windows. He can call upon specialists to assist him. The highest officials of his government support him by personal visits. His personal area of decision possibly has decreased but the influence of his advice, particularly if it is good, has greatly enlarged.

Sir Saville Garner Meeting, February 28th, 1957. *From Left to Right*: Hon. Mr. Justice F. H. Barlow; Hon. L. O. Breithaupt; D. H. Jupp; Sir Saville Garner; Brig. W. P. Gilbride.

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Hon. Livingston T. Merchant Meeting, March 7th, 1957. *From Left to Right*: J.MacBride-Sourdis; Hon. Livingston T. Merchant; D. H. Jupp; Rev. Elton Scott;

Another phenomena of our time has had a tremendous impact upon the conduct of diplomacy. This is the spread of the tenets of popular democracy. When the powers of Europe sat down around the conference table of Vienna, there was not a single representative of democracy as we understand the term. Even in Great Britain, where a limited democracy did exist, the conduct of diplomacy was subject to few of the influences which are accepted without question today. The spread of popular democratic ideas had then only just begun. For those nations, the conduct of diplomacy was a dynastic matter. The years have passed and the Divine Right of Kings is only a memory, overshadowed in our own time by the appearance of far harsher systems of rule, side by side with genuine democracies.

Now, perhaps the greatest objection to dynastic diplomacy was that a small group of self-seeking men could place in peril the well-being of an entire nation, and do it for their own ends, through secret negotiations. On this account the idea of open diplomacy became almost an article of faith with democrats throughout the world. Popular espousal of the concept reached its peak at the end of the First World War when the slogan, "Open Covenants Openly Arrived At," the first of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, caught the public imagination. The principle was made a part of the Covenant of the League of Nations which provided that the member nations would deposit with the Secretariat copies of all international agreements to which they were parties. It has also become a part of the United Nations Charter. Although this concept of open diplomacy has not proved the panacea many of its advocates had hoped, the principle retains wide acceptance in the international community.

In democratic countries open diplomacy is ensured by the submission of all major international undertakings to the legislature for approval. In some countries, such as the United States, this procedure is explicity set forth in the Constitution. In other countries, such as Canada or Great Britain, the requirement of legislative approval has become a part of the unwritten constitution. In either case, the diplomat must be always mindful that his work is finally subject to the ratification or rejection of his countrymen.

Whatever objections may be raised to popular influence in international relations, I believe that the most dependable alliances are those which enjoy the broad support of the peoples involved. As far as the United States is concerned, our long-range hopes for the maintenance of successful working relationships with all free nations as well as our hopes for the modification of the policies and structure of the communist system depend to a great extent on the understanding we can achieve with their populations.

NATO is a signal example of what well informed popular democracies will support. For an example of the weakness of an alliance without popular support, the tragic case of Hungary is instructive. A member of the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact, the Hungarian people made almost their first act in that fleeting moment when they regained control of their destiny, the repudiation of their membership in the Pact. The chains have once more been fastened on that unhappy people, but the weakness of the Warsaw Pact has been exposed for all the world to see.

With the growth of democratic processes and with developments in the field of mass communications, the modern diplomat must be prepared to have his decisions and actions exposed to public controversy. He must be prepared, at least occasionally, to see his most confidential undertakings dissected in the morning newspaper headlines. Any diplomat is understandably unhappy at times over this feature of modern diplomacy. He can be forgiven on occasion for thinking, when delicate negotiations are being undertaken, that a successful outcome would be assured if all the newspapers and radios would vanish from the earth for a short time. But the spotlight of publicity has become a fact of modern diplomatic life. It is an inseparable part of present-day diplomacy and one cannot deny that a well-informed citizenry is the essential foundation for a durable foreign policy.

The diplomat may take some comfort from the fact that, while popular democracy and intense publicity are hallmarks of our age, the diplomat in times past has also had to reckon with public opinion. When John Jay, the United States plenipotentiary in London, negotiated in 1794 the treaty that bears his name, Congress was so uncomfortable about it that it attempted to keep the provisions secret. When they finally came out the public was so incensed that scores of hamlets were lighted by bonfires in which Jay was burned in effigy, flags were lowered to half-mast, and hangmen officially burned copies of the treaty. And yet it is doubtful whether a better treaty could have been obtained at the time. So much for one of the occupational hazards of my profession.

Despite the desirability of publicity and democratic influences in the conduct of diplomacy, there is still a need for confidential negotiations among government representatives; for agreements which do not have to be hammered out in the neon-lighted atmosphere of public debate. All of a nation's affairs cannot be successfully conducted in a goldfish bowl. Too often public negotiations have been used as a sounding board for propaganda of one of the negotiators rather than as an endeavor to reach genuine agreement. As I well recall, the tip-off at the Berlin Foreign Ministers' Conference in 1954 that the Soviet Union was unwilling at that time to reach any agreement on German reunification or an Austrian peace treaty was its unwillingness from the outset to negotiate in confidence. They were not looking for a conference but for a propaganda carnival.

Often, too, the agitation of popular passions or the public announcement of a position can make international agreement virtually impossible. No government which has taken a public stand can compromise without losing prestige. Yet the modification of an original bargaining position is often necessary to the reaching of a mutually acceptable agreement. Every democracy must constantly balance the legitimate rights of its people to be informed about negotiations which may commit them to serious action with the necessity of safeguarding the success of the negotiations. It is no simple task to determine where the balance may lie.

There can be little doubt that popular democracy has made the work of the diplomat more difficult. He must think in terms of the entire complex of political, economic, social, and cultural forces which determine the actions of nations. He must concern himself not only with government officials but also with a broad cross-section of the nation's people. His work, in democracies at least, is always subject to the scrutiny of the legislature and to publicity of a sort which at times can damage delicate negotiations.

It is inescapable that the development of modern communications and the acceptance of what I have described as popular democracy have markedly modified the traditional techniques of diplomacy. On top of these has come—and this is really a development of only the last decade—the widespread appearance of multilateral diplomacy. The United Nations, of course, is the most striking example of the attempt to negotiate by public discussion and with the full participation of every member of the organization even though there may be only two or three states directly involved in the particular issue under debate. Then the United Nations itself has proliferated an extraordinary number of commissions and organizations, all of them multilateral in character. There is, for example, the International Civil Aviation Organization with its seat in Montreal; the Food and Agriculture Organization; the International Labor Organization; economic commissions for Europe, for Latin America, and for the Far East. I could list, I think, two pages of permanent organs or commissions—all with multiple membership—which belong to or are connected with the United Nations.

In the past year the United States Government officially participated in 308 conferences, and I have no doubt that the list of meetings and conferences in which Canada participated is just as long.

Then, by reason of the failure of the United Nations to provide genuine security against aggression, for reasons with which we are only too sadly familiar, there has been the understandable development of collective security arrangements. The North Atlantic Treaty comes first to mind. This is the keystone of the defenses of the United States and Canada together with their thirteen fellow partners. There is the Manila Pact, "Anzus," the Organization of American States, the Baghdad Pact and others. All in all, the United States is joined with forty-two other countries in mutual security agreements.

It is, I think, unprecedented for sovereign powers in times of peace to enter into defensive treaty arrangements under which, in so many cases, an active organization is established to insure not only the efficiency of the collective defense but also to develop and expand in other non-military areas the comradeship and the common interests which underly the treaty. Most alliances of history enter activity only in time of war and, as we all know, hard decisions are most easily reached and acted upon under the pressure of a fight to survive. The thorny questions of priorities and of the equitable sharing of costs and burdens are hard to come by in peace. A great and deep reservoir of good will and common sense and responsibility is needed to arrive at common agreement in a period of peace, but this is just what is being done in NATO and, increasingly, I am satisfied, in our other alliances.

It is not surprising to me that an issue like Cyprus can deeply trouble the relations of good friends and allies or even that disagreement on basic policy can arise, as was the case last Fall over the Suez, between the United States and two of its oldest and best friends. The important thing is that deep friendships rise above disagreements rather than succumb to them. Indeed, out of such disagreements often comes, as I believe truly to be the case today, an even stronger bond based on a clearer understanding of another's interests and point of view.

We are, I believe, learning to extract the best from multilateral diplomacy. This we can only do if we clearly recognize its limitations as well as the advantage it provides for the education and mobilization of world opinion and moral force. Multilateral diplomacy, however successful, must still be reinforced or in some cases preceded by intimate and confidential bilateral negotiation and exchanges of view.

There is no country, I suppose, with which the United States works so freely and so closely and so continuously as with Canada. Canada is vitally important to the United States just as I believe the United States is vitally important to Canada. Mostly this is true because we share the same heritage of western Christian civilization. Our ideals, our cultures, our hopes, are fundamentally the same. We agree with all the depth of common conviction that man is an individual with God-given rights and duties. It is the cynical, evil attack on this basic concept which divides the world today and has forced on us both the realization that we must be prepared to defend our faith or perish.

Then, our very geographical contiguity brings in its train a host of interdependent relationships, commercial, scientific, cultural, and all the other fields of human activity. Joint defense is only common sense in the thermonuclear air age where the axis of threat crosses the North Pole and not the two great oceans. Beyond all this, our two countries share youth and the recent experience of settling a virgin continent and in a few years building out of wilderness the most productive social community that any civilization has ever known. Both of us face on two oceans. Carved over the main door of your Parliament buildings is the line, "The wholesome sea is at her gates, her gates both East and West." This physical fact forces both of us to look across the Pacific to the Far East as well as across the Atlantic to Europe. It guarantees, it seems to me, that our comprehension of the world about us is truly global. The facts of our physical place in the world deny that either of us can be parochial or insular.

Thus I think you will agree that the last century and a half has witnessed a revolution in the world political environment. The old order of Europe which the Congress of Vienna rationalized and reinforced served reasonably well to maintain the peace of the world for a century. That old order dissolved in the acid of two almost suicidal world wars.

We are living in a new era. It is outstandingly characterized by the division between the free world and the slave empire of the Soviets. The Soviets make no bones over their dedication to the destruction of our institutions, our freedoms, and our whole way of life. The Soviets combine great military power with growing industrial power and add to those elements a highly developed, sophisticated apparatus for internattional propaganda and subversion. They think that time and history are on their side. In that they are wrong, for the true record of history is the unending and successful struggle of the individual to achieve dignity and freedom. It is for that freedom and that dignity that we of the free world stand.

As I have suggested in somewhat lighter vein earlier in this speech, there have been substantial changes in diplomatic methods and techniques since the Congress of Vienna 150 years ago, but the object of our diplomacy stands unchanged. It is the maintenance of peace with justice. But in our interdependent world this goal cannot be achieved by attempting to withdraw from that world.

The United States has learned a great lesson from the last two wars. President Eisenhower, in his Second Inaugural Address a few weeks ago, put it clearly when he said, "No people can live to itself alone . . . no nation can longer be a fortress, lone and strong and safe. And any people seeking such shelter for themselves can now build only their own prison."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. H. R. Lawson, Third Vice-President of the Club.

“THE IRISH MIND”

An Address by

DR. THOMAS JOSEPH KIERNAN
Ambassador of Ireland

Thursday, March 14th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: It is a very happy circumstance that within a few days of St. Patrick’s Day we can welcome as our guest speaker His Excellency The Ambassador of Ireland in Canada, Dr. Thomas Joseph Kiernan.

Dr. Kiernan was born in Dublin in 1897 and received his education at St. Mary’s College and the University College, Dublin. He has a Master of Arts Degree from the National University of Ireland and is a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of London. For a short period from 1919 to 1924 he was an Inspector of Taxes in the Inland Revenue Branch and then became Secretary of the High Commission in London during the historically important period 1925 to 1935. There followed a period as Director of Radio Eireann until 1941 when he was appointed Minister of Plenipotentiary at the Holy See. A long period of residence in Australia followed from 1946 to 1955, the first half of which was in the post of High Commissioner and thereafter as Ambassador to Australia. Immediately prior to his appointment as Ambassador to Canada, he was Minister Plenipotentiary with the personal rank of Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Dr. Kiernan’s published works reflect the experiences he has had and his studies because he has written about “British War Finance and the Consequences,” his ”Study in Irish National Finance," "History of the Financial Administration of Ireland" and also "A Study in Ecclesiastical Statistics." From his Australian period came the "Irish Exiles in Australia" and "Transportation from Ireland to Sydney: 1791-1816." We hope that Dr. Kiernan will be in Canada long enough to write about the relationship between this country and Ireland. His chosen subject today, however, covers the world as he will speak on "The Irish Mind."

DR. KIERNAN: The card of invitation which I received to come to hear myself describes me as an orator. I have been called many names during my life, but not until now an orator. In the Ireland of today, we are more than a little suspicious of oratory. Parliament should, I suppose, be the last refuge of oratory; and certainly nobody goes to the Dail or Seanad in Dublin to enjoy the speeches. But if we have lost interest in oratory, we have not lost control of language; nor craftsmanship in the moulding and manipulation of meaningful words and phrases. Otherwise, how could I dare come to talk to you on such a subject as the mind of Ireland? To describe a policy or an economy is a matter-of-fact task, of choice and emphasis of facts. To describe a racial mind is dealing in the anima, touching the spirit; and all that I can do will be to try, with your minds following mine, to glimpse here and there; and my talk will be a failure if you do not see it as an attempt of mind to speak sympathetically to mind. There can, at best, be only a very partial exposition and understanding.

That there is a racial mind, that the individual is not just derived, in his mental characteristics, from parents, from home and school and social environment, but from a much further-back and infinitely more complex build-up —that, I think, is incontestible. One can, in broadest terms, speak of the European mind and of the Asian mind for instance.

In parenthesis, but without irrelevance, in even the most superficial study of the Canadian mind, it would surely be hazardous to see it as Canadian without first looking into the racial streams that, in their varieties of confluence, are still very much on the move, and in the making. It is often said that Canada derives from two main racial strains. There are, in fact, three which, whether from numbers, or from differences of background, or from the contribution made to the development of your country, can be called main strains. They are, as you are aware, the English, the French, and the Celtic. Nothing is gained, and much may be lost to the Canadian national consciousness, by ignoring the influence, and, I make bold to say, the value of the Celtic strain.

Expressions of the mind of a people may be discerned in a variety of manifestations: in music and song; in literature and drama; in painting and sculpture; in the whole of the activities of life.

Ireland is rich in songs of the people. There are also many songs about Ireland written by strangers to Ireland; the sugary songs of the "Does your mother come from Ireland?" kind. But no stranger can ever write the songs of the people, the tunes of the popular voice, made to captivate the popular ear.

The Irish ballad, like the ballads of other countries, comes very far back from the nation's infancy. It is an expression of history, of the history of the people in their employments and amusements, their wars and victories and defeats, their births and marriages and deaths; not in the cold print of the text book or the newspaper, but made into the music of the hearth, and therefore of the heart, the unsophisticated heart of the people. The words of the ballad and the music of the ballad are the first parents of our literature.

And they endure from generation to generation. Song-hits, with a season or so of popular appeal, are familiar enough to us from the radio. They die when supplanted by the next latest musical hit, the next piece of swing or rock 'n roll. They owe their popularity to their cheap and easy sentiment, and perhaps also to the type of accompanying music, which has been described as an irregular movement from bar to bar, and indeed they have an early closing. There is no early closing for the songs of Ireland.

Irish music, so much parodied, is not as easy as it looks. Art is easier than artlessness. The music of Ireland is natural music. It is therefore emotional music. The structure and the language of this Irish music are simple in their warmth of feeling, graceful in their ease and beauty, measured and lilting music, so that the memory clings to it and clothes it with scenes remembered and felt; or even felt without ever having been known except in the long history of the emotions. And that is why it is easy to recognize the spurious Irish song. No stranger can write the songs of a people. The imitations are like flowers made of paper; the originals are, just simply, like flowers. Warmth of feeling cannot be feigned. Simple emotion cannot be planned. In all the grandiose planning of this age, the songs forever evade the planners. A national anthem cannot be made to order or got from a competition. The people's songs cannot be created, as a city can be, from blueprints. Of them it may in truth be said that the voice of the people, the singing voice of the people, is the voice of God.

The narrative poetry of the old Irish songs, short and pithy, simple and sincere, is linked to the nation's story and struggles. But the harshness of history is softened in the songs. One cannot sing rancour. If at times the voice of the song is plaintive, that is no more than a reflection of broken homesteads and sweltering emigrant ships. But the songs of Ireland ring, too, in marching words. Courage is consecrated in song that speaks the heart of a people.

Irish songs are not easy to sing, because they need to be interpreted naturally and artlessly, made part of the breathing beauty of life, as easy as the breeze of the air in the trees. Whenever, in the interpretation, art intrudes on nature, it is no longer Irish song. These songs need, indeed, no piano accompaniment or violin obligato. Their best accompaniment is the beat of the listening heart. They are the songs of the fireside, the songs of the home, for singing in the fields, or lilting at a cradleside. They come oddly through the mechanism of the radio. They are songs to sing where people gather, homely songs. Many of the emigrants who left Ireland brought with them two well-thumbed books: Moore's Irish Melodies, and The Key to Heaven. The old Irish songs, songs to consecrate a home, are part of the Irish key to heaven.

An expression of the mind of a people can be discerned by its use of radio. I spent six years in charge of the Irish broadcasting service and can speak of it from first-hand knowledge. The most obvious difference between radio programmes in Ireland and in Canada is that we have no commercial stations. We have had tantalising financial offers in this field; but the fact remains that we have no commercial stations. A very limited amount of commercially sponsored broadcasting is permitted within the general framework and this service is limited to Irish manufacturing concerns.

From my experience of radio in Ireland and in other countries—because I made it my job to study the details of broadcasting in other countries and the public reactions —I am convinced of the ready response the listening public is prepared to give to good-class entertainment. There is a tendency to play down to sections of public taste, and to underrate the mental capacities of the general body of listeners. What the listeners want is analogous to what a diner wants when he goes into a restaurant. He doesn't quite know; except what "disagrees" with him. He has to have a look at the menu; and an individual's tastes vary from day to day or so. But if the restaurant can provide him with good fare, his appetite will be stimulated by it. "I wasn't hungry till I sat down to eat" is often the way it is with radio listeners; and if they can draw on a menu of good music or well-constructed radio-drama, well-acted for the ear, their taste grows, and in fact their taste is being formed. Cheap stuff on the air forms a cheap national taste.

Our programmes are bilingual, with items in Irish and English. We have a big listening public in Scotland and in Northern England; and with the near-by competition of the more richly-financed British Broadcasting Corporation's and the European programmes, we find that the more Irish our programmes are, the greater their appeal. We arrange interchanges of programmes with the B.B.C. as well as international programmes; and are easily able to get visiting conductors and soloists of international reputation. Our programmes, judging by the general terms of criticism, have been improving year by year since broadcasting was started; which is what one should expect, since broadcasting, properly used, should broaden and intensify the listening interest in good material, and there is an unlimited field for improvement in every country.

I found that the radio, far from destroying interest in local amateur efforts can be used to stimulate them and to arouse a healthy local competition. The recent growth of local festivals of music and drama in Ireland is not unconnected with the influence of radio.

There is a large amount of local dramatic art in Ireland. It is a form of expression of the mind of the people. Large, expensive halls are not by any means a prerequisite. In the proper sequence, they have a second place to the writing and acting of drama. That was our experience with the Abbey Theatre, which is now so well-known. The playwrights emerged first; then the special kind of actors to perform these Irish plays; and since then, the Abbey Theatre has become a training-ground for actors for the English theatre. That drama movement has spread to the smaller towns, and is a great advantage to small-town community life. For there is no doubt that we have to solve the difficulty of the loneliness and lack of social amenities in the Irish rural and small-town districts, to avoid a further drain of population into the cities to swell their bloated populations. I am not sure that it would not be a good thing to make the cities pay more taxes to finance amenity developments in the smaller and socially-healthier areas, and to encourage the spread of population. However, we are doing it by local, voluntary effort, through Young Farmer's Clubs and Parish Guilds, which have built halls for concerts and plays, formed film units, developed parish libraries and study groups. The aim of these is to develop a community spirit in every Irish parish and, as they put it themselves, to drive out class antagonism and bring the people of each parish community together in Christian charity. These local groups are our attempt at an answer to the now widespread materialistic conception of human life which is fostered by the congested, competitive civilization developed by excessive urbanisation.

Nobel prizes were given to Yeats, the Irish poet; and to Walton, the Irish scientist. Yeats was the outstanding leader of the Irish Literary Renaissance. Nowhere can a truer mirror of the Irish mind be found than in the movements that came together, with Douglas Hyde's Gaelic League for the revival of the Irish language, the theatre of Synge and Yeats and Lady Gregory, the poetry and plays and novels that mark the literary re-birth of the nation. The inspiration of this movement came from the discovery of the ancient literature of Ireland and the folk literature.

It was this renaissance that gave the death-blow to the squireen type of phoney Irish writing which created that charmingly—inane myth wearing a "caubeen", smoking a "dudheen", long upper-lipped, with shamrocks growing from his ears—the stage Irishman. He was liked by the English, says Arland Usher, "for the good reason that he was in fact an Englishman—a colonial variety of the jolly English squire." I may, then, say a word about Irish humour, since humour, or the lack of it, is a manifestation of mind. We have our playboys, court-jesters to the serious business of life. Apart from them, and we very often export them as being a little boring at home, our particular sense of humour is characterised by the capacity of being able to laugh at ourselves. When you come to think of it, there is no more humourous subject to a man, if he looks at the matter rightly, than himself. It costs nothing to have a laugh at oneself and it flatters the little vanity of the people who are so uncertain of themselves that they have to be pompous.

A second characteristic of our humour is its whimsical approach to subjects that might be called grim. The Germans call it gallows-humour; the French, l'humour noir. One of the most successful recent Irish plays in Dublin and London, "The Quare Fellah" by Brendan Behan, was based on bits and pieces of humour in a prison on the occasion of the execution of one of its inmates. After all, if we have to die, why not be cheerful about it? Members might bear that piece of Irish advice in mind, as it may come in useful to all of you some day —or night.

Here is a bit of real humour I picked out of a Canadian newspaper recently. Of all places to find humourous writing, it was that excellent financial review, "The Financial Post". "It is a melancholy thought that in the bad old days of British domination, the Irish supplied outstanding men in literature, the armed services, the drama and even in the diplomatic service. But since Eire was made an independent republic, the fruitfulness of her womb has changed to barrenness. All of which would suggest that a moderate oppression inspires people to great things." However, that gem was in the London letter and so is not an example of Canadian humour. And the joke of it is that while it was being written, a living Irishman's play was the talk of London.

I have mentioned Walton, our Nobel prize winner, who, in collaboration with the Cambridge scientist Rutherford, pioneered the research that led to the splitting of the atom. In the field of research, we have in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies a centre that has attracted some men of the highest qualifications in physics. That branch of the Institute was until recently under the direction of Edwin Schroedinger. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for his now famous theory of atomic processes. The Schroedinger wave mechanics is now firmly established as a major part of the fundamentals of theoretical physics and chemistry and has had a decisive influence on subsequent development in the field of atomic physics. He, more than any other of the professors in the Dublin Institute, inspired the work which has won for the Institute international recognition and fame.

Mention of Schroedinger leads me to point out the readiness with which the new Ireland is anxious to avail of contributions to its full national life from outside the country. When, eighteen years ago, Mr. De Valera invited Schroedinger to take the post in Ireland, Schroedinger was an Austrian Jew escaping from the Hitler persecution.

In industry also we have been anxious to avail ourselves of initiative from outside Ireland. Just now, Canadian companies are opening up lead and gold mines in Ireland. We have the closest and friendliest co-operation with British industrial life; and many of our successful factories are due to British initiative. And I take this opportunity of saying that we would welcome more Canadian initiative. We have made the terms of capital investment very attractive. I shall not delay you with any technical details but if any members of the Empire Club are interested in this subject, I shall be most happy to enter into particulars.

One of Schroedinger's works which I find on sale in Canada is "What Is Life and Other Scientific Essays" (Doubleday Anchor Books). I might say a few words about what Irish life means. For tourists, it is a life unlike anything that can be experienced elsewhere; because in a tiny island, there is a kaleidoscopic variety of natural scenery and of human individuality. Every Irishman is a person; and I believe that the most interesting persons are rarely the persons of importance. Ireland is full of people of no importance who are personalities refreshing to encounter. The playwright Shaw has put into the mouth of Broadbent, the Englishman, the words: "Ireland, Sir, for good or evil, is like no other place under heaven; and no man can touch its sod or breathe its air without becoming better or worse."

In this brief glimpsing at facets of the Irish mind, I have touched on certain positive manifestations, without being able to fill in the details of the modern output of literature, of poetry and novels and plays; because each would need a separate and far fuller treatment. You may expect me to shade the picture with some negative touches; and I can think of none better, on account of some publicity the subject has received in your Club, than the censorship of publications position.

There is a certain amount of misconception about the Irish system of censorship; and while the misconceptions get a good press, so to speak, I have not yet seen a defence, or indeed an attempt at clear explanation of what the censorship is in practice. In Australia I am aware that the censorship of obscene publications is the responsibility of the Customs Department. I believe it is the same in Canada; and in England, it is a matter for the Customs and the Police authorities. A difficulty about that is that one can never be certain whether one is breaking the law or not; since the lists of censored publications are kept secret.

Well, every country is entitled, under democratic government, to make up its own mind on this problem, which has arisen because of the universality of popular education. When John Milton attacked the censorship, only a minority of English people could read. It is far different now, and the printing presses are more active and the profits, especially from sex literature, much greater.

The first point on which to be clear is that the Irish people approve of the form of censorship of publications which we have adopted. There is, I am glad to say, a minority taking the opposite view. It would give a very untrue picture of the mind of present-day Ireland to suggest that there is anything like uniformity of thinking. But on this issue, the great majority want to have kept from sale books which are obscene or indecent or in their general tendency indecent.

Now comes the difficulty. Who is to decide what is indecent in writing, and, more difficult still, what is in general tendency indecent? We have made two decisions on that. The first is not to entrust this work to specialists in revenue matters or in police matters. We have a Board and we have also an Appeal Board. The members are chosen for their knowledge of literature, and Protestants are duly represented on these Boards. I should say at once that in this matter there is no difference of opinion between the religious denominations. The Board is free from pressure of any kind. It would be a poor type of committee of public-spirited citizens if they could be held guilty of pandering to some pressure group. In truth, that accusation has never been brought, for it would be patently absurd. The only strong pressure group is a very vocal one and consists of authors in Ireland who have had some books banned. As the banning of a book may, I am sorry to say, increase its sale in other places, some uncharitable people think that our writers who protest do so in order to keep interest alive in the censorship and would be very disappointed if it came to an end.

The second decision we reached was that there would be no hush-hush about censorship. The books and magazines censored are publicly listed, and from time to time a complete list is published so that book-sellers and others may know just where they stand.

But what seems to me to be the most telling answer to critics is that there is not, from the beginning of censorship, a single work of ideas banned; no book dealing with even the most unorthodox philosophy, no belles lettres; nothing in fact but fiction and pseudo-medical works. So that the charge, sometimes unfairly made, that there is a censorship limiting freedom of thinking is quite unfounded. If any of you have had first-hand knowledge of pre-Hitler Germany, you will, I think, agree that the vast sale, avidly read by German youth, of perversion books had its direct sequence in the horrors and sadism of the concentration camps.

We have, and we practise, all of the freedoms in Ireland; including the freedom of publishing and of reading newspapers on Sunday. Permit me to consider that particular manifestation of the public mind. In Dublin we have two Sunday newspapers, the *Sunday Press* and the *Sunday Independent*. In addition, there is a large circulation of the English Sunday newspapers. The popular English Sunday newspapers publish special editions for the Irish market, because if the English editions of these popular newspapers came to Ireland, the chances are, more likely than not, that they would have to be restricted by our censorship. In other words, we have Sunday newspapers, but not any kind of Sunday newspapers: and that is simply the exercise of freedom guarded by prudence.

In the Diplomatic List published by the Queen's Printer in Ottawa, there are given the National Days of the 47 nations which have diplomatic representation in Canada; and after each is given the foundation date for the National Day, such as for the United States of America, the date of Independence, 1776. The earliest date in the list is the year 461 and it is for St. Patrick's Day. In every free country in the world, there is a St. Patrick's Day celebration of some kind. The mind of Ireland has carried far. To talk to you about it is to talk to you of something you already know about. The mind of Ireland is in no strange atmosphere in Canada; and though I have been able to give you only hints of glimpses of it, it is, to hundreds of thousands of Canadians, giving a glimpse of what is part of their own racial minds.

I know that, here in Toronto, St. Patrick's Day is held in affectionate remembrance; in such intimately affectionate remembrance that it can be joked about; for that is a test of affectionate relations, that they can be joked about. I know that a much later Irish feast is celebrated too in Toronto, the Twelfth of July. In anticipation of being invited to Toronto to join the 12th of July celebrations, and to drink a toast to Indivisible Ireland, I wish you all a happy St. Patrick's Day.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Bruce J. Legge, Second Vice-President of the Club.

"THE ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT"

An Address by

STANLEY HOWARD KNOWLES, B.A., B.D., M.P.
C.C.F. National Vice-Chairman and Member for Winnipeg North Centre

Thursday, March 21st 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: Our guest of honour today is one of the colourful figures whose skill in opposition is of inestimable value to the parliamentary life of this country. His visit to speak to us today is all the more welcome as we have waited until now to hear him at The Empire Club.

Born in Los Angeles, California in 1908, of Canadian parents, who were Maritimers, he wandered up to Manitoba alone at the age of 16 and continued his education until he had two degrees from the University of Manitoba, B.A. in 1930 and B.D. in 1934. He became a printer and a member of the International Typographical Union, and also a Minister in the United Church. Political aspirations promptly impelled him to seek election to the Federal Parliament, but he was unsuccessful in his first two attempt in 1935 and 1940 and also for the Manitoba Legislature in 1941, but he was a City Alderman in 1941-2.

Active in the CCF party since 1934, he has held office as Manitoba Chairman three times, and has been on the National Council since 1939 and National Executive since 1942. He has been the member of the House of Commons for Winnipeg North Centre since the by-election on

November 30, 1942. His record as Chairman of the C.C.F. National Convention on five occasions must be unique. As Chief Whip of CCF since 1944, he enjoys a length and breadth of parliamentary experience seldom equalled, and as he has always been in opposition to the government of the day, he is rarely qualified to talk to us on "The Role of the Opposition in Parliament".

MR. KNOWLES: There was recently handed down in Ottawa one of the most important decisions ever made by the Supreme Court of Canada. I suggest, however, that even more important than the actual decision that the Padlock Act is beyond the powers of a provincial legislature is the fact that there are now four members of this nation's highest court who at one time or another have gone beyond the question as to whether or not provincial legislatures can interfere with certain basic rights and have declared that Canada's constitution is such that even the federal parliament has no power to pass any law abrogating freedom of speech, or the right to free discussion, in any part of this country.

The doctrine that freedom of discussion in Canada is guaranteed by the preamble to the British North America Act was first enunciated in the Supreme Court in 1938 by Sir Lyman Duff, and he was joined at that time by Mr. Justice Davis. This was in connection with the Alberta Press case. In 1953, in connection with the first of the Jehovah's Witnesses cases, three of their lordships, Mr. Justice Rand, Mr. Justice Kellock and Mr. Justice Locke re-asserted Sir Lyman Duff's proposition that no legislative authority in Canada, provincial or federal, has the right to abrogate freedom of discussion. Laws against indecency, disorder, defamation and sedition are proper; in other words, freedom of discussion means "freedom governed by law"; but the dictum of their lordships to whom I have referred is clear: freedom of discussion there must be.

In relation to the Padlock Act, Mr. Justice Rand has now re-stated the position he took in 1953, and Mr. Justice Abbott has likewise gone beyond the question as to the right of Quebec to enact the Padlock law, which he denies in very clear terms, to declare that under the British North America Act even the federal parliament could not pass a law that would abrogate the right of free discussion and free debate. To use words quoted by Mr. Justice Abbott, these rights constitute our "breath of life".

Four of the justices whom I have named are today members of the Supreme Court of Canada. Since the full court numbers nine we have reached the point where almost a majority have openly taken the position that our constitution contains an implicit guarantee of freedom of discussion, a guarantee which no legislative authority can now set aside. This leads me to suggest that if one of these days we are able to persuade parliament to pass a Bill of Rights the Supreme Court will be bound to uphold it. It may be that the Supreme Court will beat us to it and declare that we already have such a Bill of Rights in the preamble to the British North America Act of 1867, by virtue of nine short words which gave to Canada a constitution "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom". The position of their lordships who have already taken this stand is that all the rights and freedoms which had been won in the United Kingdom by 1867 were by those nine words guaranteed for this nation at our birth. It will take eternal vigilance on our part to preserve and extend these freedoms, but no one can gainsay this priceless heritage.

With reference to our subject for today I believe you would be interested in the way in which Sir Lyman Duff spelled out the meaning of free discussion. He defined it as something more than unrestrained conversation. He said that free discussion means "criticism, answer and counter-criticism", it means "attack, defence and counter-attack", it means "the freest and fullest analysis and examination of political proposals" from every point of view. "This is signally true," he said, "with respect to Ministers of the Crown and members of Parliament."

I suggest that the picture is clear. The Parliament of this country, elected by free men and women on the basis of free discussions which cannot be abrogated, is not just a club of good fellows who ought to do the nation's business in the shortest possible time and with the least possible contention; rather it is a body which should examine every proposal that is made to make sure that it is in the country's best interest; it is a body in which attention should be drawn to proposals that ought to be made but which are often overlooked, unless an election is just around the corner; it is a body which should scrutinize expenditures and inquire into the administration of public affairs to make sure that fairness, justice and equity are maintained. Experience has shown that the best way to get this kind of examination and attention is by "criticism, answer and counter-criticism", by "attack, defence and counter-attack", by the cut and thrust of free debate between those who support and those who oppose the government of the day.

It is not necessary for me to tell you that in the struggles that take place in parliament—and I trust you agree with me that parliament is not doing its job properly unless there are such struggles—there is no lack of strength on the side of the government. For one thing, the government has its majority, by means of which in the end, even though we can delay that end, it can achieve its will. For another, the government has in its hands the administration of all its departments, the activities of which are woven into the fabric of our national life. Above all, it has the power of the public purse. If then free discussion in parliament is to mean anything, if it is to be real, certain measures of strength must be accorded to the opposition. It must be recognized that it is the opposition's right, indeed it is its duty, whenever it feels strongly about any matter of public policy, whether it be something the government is proposing or concern over something the government is failing to propose, to criticise and attack the government for all it is worth. It should be recognized that it is the opposition's right to keep parliament in session months on end, if in doing what its members believe to be their duty it chooses to do so.

It is the opposition's right to insist at all times on the full protection of the rules of debate. The government is entitled to that same protection, but in addition it has its majority with which to establish its will. The opposition has only the rules for its protection, hence the authorities on parliamentary procedure emphasize the greater importance to the opposition of the only protection it has, the protection of the rules. Only by according such rights to the opposition is it possible to achieve anything even approaching equality of strength between the two sides, and I suggest that unless we approach equality of strength—there cannot be absolute equality for in the end the majority must prevail, hence I say unless we approach equality of strength—between those who support and those who oppose the government of the day, there will not be that cut and thrust, that "attack, defence and counter-attack" which, as Sir Lyman Duff put it, are "the breath of life" of our parliamentary institutions.

It is also unnecessary for me to tell you that one of the essential features of democracy is the right of the people, on the basis of universal suffrage and by secret ballot, to determine who shall form, from time to time, the government of the country. But I suggest that you could have universal suffrage, the secret ballot, and a government which is the choice of the majority of the people, and still not have full political democracy. Democracy includes respect for the rights of minorities. Democracy is not real unless the force of public opinion is brought to bear not only on the choice of a government once every four or five years but on the legislative process month in and month out, day in and day out, during the time between elections. I submit, therefore, that you do not have full political democracy, let alone the economic as well as political democracy for which my party stands, unless you include along with the ingredients that are taken for granted, such as universal suffrage, the secret ballot and majority rule, a full and unquestioned recognition of the rights and functions of the opposition to the government of the day. Only in this way can you protect the rights of minorities; only in this way can you make sure that the force of public opinion will be brought to bear on the legislative process. We are indeed fortunate in Canada to have inherited from the United Kingdom a parliamentary system of government, the genius of which is the responsibility of the government to a parliament in which the rights of those who support the government and likewise the rights of those who oppose it are clearly recognized. Indeed it was Ramsay MacDonald, when he was Prime Minister, who said, "The House of Commons consists not only of a Government, but of an Opposition, and both have functions and rights."

It might interest you to know that the term "His (or Her) Majesty's Opposition" has been in use longer than the title "Prime Minister". If you go through the Hansard records of the first years of Canada's parliament you won't find Sir John A. Macdonald referred to as Prime Minister, but rather as First Minister. Indeed at the beginning you will find him referred to as Minister of Justice, since he held that portfolio as well as being the Queen's First Minister. On the other hand, right from the start you will find reference to "the honourable gentleman who leads the Opposition". The title "Prime Minister" has found its way into some of our federal legislation, but it is interesting to note that even today those rather important statutes, important to the individuals concerned at any rate, which provide for the salaries paid to the leaders of the government and the opposition designate the one as the Queen's First Minister but the other as Leader of the Opposition.

Even in the United Kingdom it was not until 1878 that the title of Prime Minister was first used officially. Previous to that the title was First Lord of His (or Her) Majesty's Treasury. On the other hand, we who sit to Mr. Speaker's left enjoy a much longer tradition under our present name, for the designation His Majesty's Opposition was first used at Westminster as long ago as 1826.

It came about in a way that seems typically British. No one planned it. No one sat down and figured it out. A debate was in progress, in the course of which a government spokesman remarked that it would be hard for His Majesty's Ministers to raise objections to a certain course of action. He went on to say, however, that for his part he thought it would be even harder for His Majesty's Opposition to compel His Majesty's Ministers to take the course being proposed. The title was hailed immediately as a happy one, and within minutes an opposition spokesman rose and said that a better phrase could not have been invented "to designate us, for we are certainly to all intents and purposes a branch of His Majesty's Government". That way of putting it has had to be qualified, for the opposition is not part of the government as such, but it is the genius of our parliamentary system that the opposition does play a part in the governing process the importance of which is beyond question.

In a moment I should like to set out three specific tasks to which the opposition must address itself, but before doing so I should like to indicate that Canadian political leaders have recognized very clearly the importance of the role of the opposition in parliament. There are many quotations one could give, but perhaps two will suffice. When Sir Charles Tupper wrote his farewell letter to the Conservative Party in 1901 he put it this way: "The duty of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition is to exercise its vast influence in restraining vicious legislation, and in giving a loyal support to proposals of the Government which commend themselves as in the interests of the country; while initiating itself such measures for the commonweal as are neglected by the Administration."

Lest someone chide me for having quoted from a former Labor Prime Minister and from a former Conservative Prime Minister, but as yet from no Liberal, may I refer you to certain words of Sir Wilfred Laurier which were spoken in 1913. The House of Commons was in the midst of the debate on the Naval Aid Bill. In an effort to bring to an end the opposition of the Liberals, the government of the day, headed by Sir Robert Borden, interrupted the proceedings on the Naval Aid Bill and brought in a resolution to amend the rules of the House of Commons so as to provide for closure. The Liberals were scandalized. This was a form of tyranny free men in a free parliament could not take. I will not yield to the temptation to digress and tell you what happened in parliament last year. But this was back in 1913 when the Liberals were opposed to the use of closure and were fighting it for all they were worth. Sir Wilfrid made some tremendous speeches during that battle. On one occasion he told of how he had been urged to propose a form of closure when the Conservatives were opposing his Reciprocity Bill in 1911, but how he had refused to do so and had gone to the country instead. He went on to say, in the 1913 debate on the proposal for closure, "Heaven is my witness that I would rather stand here today defeated and in opposition by that appeal to the people than stand over there in office by the power of the gag." Criticised for his strenuous and prolonged opposition to the proposal for closure, Laurier said this: "There are occasions . . . when an opposition or a minority owes it to itself, on account of the strong views it holds upon some public measure, to oppose that measure with all the force at its command." Sir Wilfrid pointed out that this was not a modern doctrine; that it went back to the days of Charles I, back to the struggles against the King to uphold the constitutional rights of the people of England. He told of opposition all night by certain members, until the House looked like a starved jury. Then he said this: "On another occasion in 1771, the majority of the house did not want to allow the publication of the debates. That strange position was opposed by a minority headed by no less a man than Edmund Burke, and Burke by whole days of obstruction succeeded in defeating the object of the majority, and, as he himself said afterwards, 'Posterity will bless the pertinacity of that day'."

We who sit in the opposition in the House of Commons have all sorts of epithets hurled at us. Don't worry, we hurl some across the floor as well. We are called obstructionists, time-wasters, and so on. I submit that ours is a great tradition, that we play a vital role in the democratic process—a role without which our legislative process would not be democratic—and that posterity will continue to bless the pertinacity of those to Mr. Speaker's left who do their job as best they can.

Those who from time to time sit at Mr. Speaker's right have certain encomiums coming to them as well, but you didn't ask me to speak on that aspect of the parliamentary process, so I am content to leave it at that.

I said I wanted to set out three specific tasks to which the opposition must address itself as it pursues its important role in the legislative process. Let me use three very simple words to identify these tasks. Any opposition worth its salt must check, prod, and in the third place do something else to the government. We will come to that third task after we have dealt with the first two.

Checking the government is the most obvious task of the opposition. This applies to legislation, spending, taxation and administration. The government always believes its legislation to be good, but to put it mildly there are times when that opinion is not shared by all of us who sit in parliament as representatives of the people of Canada. Last year's pipe line legislation of course stands out as an example of a government proposal some of us regarded as iniquitous. I say to you quite frankly that we now feel that it was more iniquitous than we realized a year ago, particularly in view of the fact that certain individuals are now able to make huge private gain as the result of financial aid made available from the public treasury on the basis of options the number and terms of which were not made known to parliament. I recognize that opinions differ on this matter, but a large number of us felt very strongly about this last year; we believe we reflected the views of perhaps millions of Canadians, and I submit that the opposition was really playing its role when it did its best to check the government from going ahead with that legislation. In the end we were over-ruled by the majority; that is democracy. But because of our fight there won't be another piece of legislation like that for awhile; that too is democracy, with the opposition playing its role.

Two years ago there was the legislation amending the Defence Production Act so as to give certain powers to the Minister without time limit. A long, hard fight by the opposition ended in an acceptance by the government of a three-year time limit. That too was democracy.

I could cite other examples, such as our attempt to check the government when it increased first class postage rates to four and five cents an ounce, and so on. Likewise in the field of government expenditures a particular responsibility—and a difficult one to discharge—rests upon the opposition. We have to try, in committee of supply, and in some instances in certain special committees outside the House, to examine into every dollar of government expenditure. This task is so huge that the best we manage is spot checking, but I believe it can be said that it does have a salutary effect on the government to know that we are on the lookout for waste or extravagance, for after all it is the people's money the government is spending. Similarly in the field of taxation it is our job to check the government whenever we feel unnecessary taxation is being imposed, or whenever we feel taxation is being imposed on those unable to bear it and not heavily enough on those who should bear it. Likewise we have to keep an eye on the government's administration of its various departments. By the very nature of things we are the receivers of complaints from civil servants, taxpayers, veterans, pensioners and others who are dissatisfied with any aspect of government administration. It is our task to check on such complaints and to try to keep the government on the rails. We do this in debate, we do it by making the fullest possible use of the question period before the orders of the day, and in every way open to us under the rules of the House.

Our second task is equally important, if not more so. It is ours to prod and push and persuade the government to take those steps for the common good which it sometimes seems awfully slow to take. Some day this country will have national health insurance. If the Liberals are in power when that day comes they will assert that they did it all by themselves. They will even tell you that they had it in their platform before my party was born. They're right. They put it there in 1919. But I think I have only to mention the subject of health insurance to make my point that the opposition, by prodding the government, plays a very effective role in parliament, a role that results in certain legislation coming into being which otherwise would never reach the statute books. If any of you are Liberals you will rejoice that your party will be able to boast about certain social benefits that are being increased by $6 a month, $1 a month, and various other figures. It takes a government to bring in such legislation; I don't detract from that for one moment. But the rest of you will be conscious of the fact that there has been an awful lot of prodding on these matters from the opposition side of the House, and for the purpose of this discussion on the role of the opposition in parliament I trust I am making my point, that one of our prime functions is to prod the government of the day, as Sir Charles Tupper put it, by "initiating such measures for the commonweal as are neglected by the Administration." I return to what I said earlier. Democracy is not real unless the force of public opinion is brought to bear not only on the choice of a government once every four or five years but on the legislative process month in and month out, day in and day out, during the time between elections. To achieve this a country needs a government which is the choice of the majority, and the role of an elected government is of undoubted importance, but a country such as Canada also needs an effective opposition to prod that government to give the nation that legislation which will advance the common good.

I come now to the third of the three simple words I referred to a few moments ago. I said any opposition worth its salt must check the government, and it must prod the government. It must also address itself to its main task, which is to replace the government. I have spent all this time telling you how important is the job of the opposition in the legislative process; now I am saying that the opposition should actually work itself out of that important job. In other words, the opposition should so conduct itself in parliament as to persuade the people of the country that it would be an improvement on the government of the day. No one will deny that our system works best when there is a change of government at reasonable intervals. Most of us have the feeling that the interval between changes in this country is becoming a bit longer than is reasonable. That leads, however, to a point which in my view is very basic, and I feel I must state it, even at the risk of appearing to take a more partisan stand than is called for in the context of these remarks. An opposition party, even if it enjoys the prestige of being the official opposition, and of having been in power in years gone by, cannot expect that sooner or later it will again take office merely by virtue of its having opposed the government of the day, and a very long day at that. The electors of a country may complain about the party in power, but they are not going to replace it by an opposition party unless they are persuaded that that opposition party has something better to offer, unless they are persuaded that that opposition party reflects the thinking of the people with respect to the needs and the problems of a new day.

At election time the government is on trial. If it hasn't delivered the goods it can be thrown out. An opposition is also on trial at election time. It too must deliver the goods, or it too can find itself thrown out and replaced by another opposition. What must an opposition do to deliver the goods? It must do its job of checking the government. It must do its job of prodding the government. But that is not all. It must also be the kind of opposition, it must advance and stand for the kind of policies that will persuade the electors that its members should be on the treasury benches, that its members will provide better government, government more in keeping with the times in which we are living, than those who are now there. That is the challenge that confronts any opposition party. Speaking for my own party, I may say that we accept that challenge.

It is a high privilege indeed to serve as a member of the parliament of Canada, regardless of the side of the House on which one sits. My experience has led me to be particularly conscious of the important role of the opposition, a role that is an integral part of legislative process, a role without which we would not have full political democracy. I am very happy to have had this opportunity of trying to convey to you something of that importance.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Marvin Gelber.

“THIS BUSINESS OF OPERA”

An Address by

RUDOLF BING, C.B.E.
General Manager, Metropolitan Opera, New York, N.Y.

Thursday, March 28th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: Under the sponsorship of The Rotary Club, the Metroplitan Opera Company has brought to Toronto in the spring of each year recently a full weeks performances of opera at its best. Because of the tremendous reputation of the Metropolitan Opera Company, a very wide public in this city is interested in the man who is primarily responsible for the achievements of the Metropolitan. In passing we may note that we have a special interest in one of his predecessors, Dr. Edward Johnson, of Guelph, Ontario.

Mr. Rudolf Bing was born in Austria in 1902, and he studied music and art at the University of Vienna. At the age of twenty he joined a publishing house which also included a Concert Agency. He became a director of the agency within a year, and shortly added an Opera division which brought him into an early association with the Vienna State Opera and many of the leading artists of the music world.

In 1927, Mr. Bing went to Germany to work with the municipal and state opera houses, as head of a state agency supplying artists and personnel to some eighty theatres. He then became director of Artistic Organization of the Darmstadt State Theatre and the Charlottenburg Opera in Berlin.

When Hitler came into power in 1933, Rudolf Bing left Germany and found a new home for his activities at

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Sir Charles Goodeve Meeting, April 4th, 1957. *From Left to Right*: Sir Harry Pilkington; Sir Charles Goodeve; D. H. Jupp; Rt. Rev. F. H. Wilkinson.

E. DAVIE FULTON MEETING, APRIL 11TH, 1957. *From Left to Right*: E. Davie Fulton;

the Glyndebourne Opera, founded by John Christie, in England just at that moment. The Hitler war interrupted these festivals but Mr. Bing was asked to plan for their resumption in 1944, and in fact, Glyndebourne re-opened in 1946.

Meanwhile, the bold conception which developed into the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama was forming in Mr. Bing's mind and came to fruition in 1947 in association with the Arts Council of Great Britain and the City of Edinburgh. This annual event of world-wide importance was securely established when Mr. Bing accepted the appointment of General Manager of the Metropolitan Opera on June 1, 1950.

Mr. Bing has been awarded honorary doctorates from two American colleges—Dickinson College made him a Doctor of Humane Letters, and Lafayette College—a Doctor of Music.

Since Mr. Bing became a British Subject during his long residence in Great Britain he was eligible and was named a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in the Queen's New Year's list in 1956.

It would be out of place for me to mention either a few of the innovations and improvements made by Mr. Bing at the Metropolitan in view of the title of his address to us, which is "This Business of Opera", but because he has established a tremendous reputation in this respect, I hope that when he speaks to us now he will reveal some of these to us.

MR. BING: It is always a pleasure to return to Toronto and particularly, on this occasion, to be the guest of the Empire Club. Toronto is still the wonder city of our tour. It is the city where we not only thought but said, "It couldn't be done". But a stage rose in Maple Leaf Gardens and somehow a gridiron appeared from which we could hang any of the scenery we carry.

When people ask me what I think of opera in Maple Leaf Gardens I reply we only hope ice hockey will look as well in the Metropolitan Opera House.

Quite seriously, we would never have believed that our performances would have ever been so successful in the

Gardens. In all our tours we have had to use amplification in less than six cities. Your equipment is by all odds the best.

And I feel I must comment on the visual improvements from year to year. The new seats—but that is more than a visual benefit, isn't it?—on the lower floor are most attractive and the lighting particularly appeals to me. There is nothing like a surprise pink gelatin over a bulb to smooth out the wrinkles and rejuvenite the complexion. Mind you, I am not speaking of the ladies of Toronto who require no such contrivances, but Toronto comes near the end of our tour and after seven and a half weeks of touring we of the company welcome any such artifice available to us.

You know, when the Met sets up shop in Atlanta or Dallas or Toronto, it isn't just another road attraction coming to town. It is the world's foremost operatic organization giving performances as nearly identical with those at the Opera House in New York as is humanly possible. To do this we have to carry 325 people in two special trains and twenty-two baggage cars of scenery and costumes. I think we can be proud of the repertoire we are offering together in Toronto this season, a Mozart work for the first time, two by Verdi and two by Puccini, and the ever-popular "Carmen".

And now let me come to my main topic for today—This Business of Opera.

You know of course the old saying "there's no business like show business", but I suggest when it comes to opera this should be changed to read "there is show business that is no business". You know what I am driving at if you have ever read a financial statement of the Metropolitan Opera Association. Or, let me hasten to add, of any other opera company.

Speaking as I do to what I have been told is a group of pay-roll meeting executives, I can literally see the frowns going up on your foreheads. "What"—you say to yourselves—"do I really have to sit here and listen to a man who right from the beginning admits that he is running a business that is losing money every year? And what is worse, the fellow doesn't even look as if he were ashamed of it!"

You are so right, gentlemen. Not only am I not ashamed of our deficit, I am indeed very proud of its being so small, nor do I think that opera has any business to be a business.

Let me illustrate what I mean when I speak of the Metropolitan's deficit as a small one. Like everything else in this life, this is naturally relative but if I tell you that all the leading opera houses in Europe—such as the Staatsoper in Vienna, the famous La Scala in Milan, the Paris Opera House and Covent Garden in London—receive government subsidies ranging from one to several million dollars a year, that means simply that the gap between the expenses in these opera houses and the income from ticket sales is as high as all that. The deficit at the Metropolitan has been fairly consolidated between $500,000 and $600,000 a year in recent years.

Now you have of course every right to ask, even admitting that relative to other opera houses our deficit is a minor one, why on earth must you lose that much money? You know no doubt that the Metropolitan Opera House is an extremely successful theatre as far as ticket sales, both by subscription and single tickets, are concerned. In fact, I venture to say that in selling as high as 95% of our capacity on the average for a 24-week season, we are achieving box office intake far better than any other opera house in the world, with the possible exception of La Scala.

This would seem to indicate that opera is a losing proposition wherever you go. Such is indeed the fact. Why? If I may try, before giving you some details, to give you the reason in a brief and concise simile, here it is: suppose you produce shoes and it costs you $4.50 a pair to make these shoes, but as it turns out you cannot sell them for more than $3.95—then nobody can see that this is a bad business. It also shows another thing very clearly which is this: the more performances you play, the more money you lose. I mention this because we are often asked why we do not play more than the 24 New York weeks we have been playing.

On the other hand, our income is really quite high. We take on average over $19,000 per performance—

really not a bad intake as income goes in theatrical enterprises.

What then is the answer? It simply is that opera is a frightfully expensive commodity, always has been and, if I may hazard a prediction, always will be.

Let me give you some of the factors that make opera such a luxury item. If you go to a Broadway show in New York the orchestra will vary from 28 to rarely a maximum of 40 musicians. The Metropolitan Opera has an orchestra of 92 and this compares not too favorably with either Vienna of the Scala in Milan, both of which have considerably more. It might interest you to know that our payroll for the orchestra alone is in the neighborhood of $15,000 per week. Then comes a chorus of 78 which again is substantially smaller than in some European opera houses, and their weekly payroll comes close to $10,000. Then comes the ballet of only 36 which really is a fraction of the number the large European opera houses employ, yet it adds another few thousand dollars to the weekly payroll. If these figures seem a bit staggering they are by far not the biggest.

In order to use a good orchestra wisely and indeed to achieve a well integrated musical performance of the highest critical standard, you need good conductors. Some of them draw fees of $1,000 per performance which in terms of what they can earn otherwise is low payment.

Now I have not yet mentioned the solo singers: we have 90 to 100 of them, some of whom are paid by the week, some of whom are paid per performance. At the top I have, with some difficulties, until fairly recently, kept a $1,000 per performance maximum fee which again compares unfavorably to what, for example, La Scala in Milan can pay and of course cannot begin to compare with what some of these top artists earn in concerts or television.

If that sounds grim, please consider for a moment a factor which I am sure never enters into the budget of a shoe factory and that is that for every singer who sings a performance I have to have a singer who doesn't sing that performance but has to be paid all the same. If that sounds insane to you, so it does to me, and so it is. But you simply cannot stake a $19,000 house on the extremely sensitive vocal chords of a singer, to say nothing of their nerves, moods and other indispositions. If any singer were to have a sudden sore throat at noon of a performance day, informed me (as indeed happens all the time) that he or she cannot sing that evening, and if I then did not have a substitute of preferably equal but otherwise at least acceptable quality standing by, what it simply would mean is that I have to cancel this performance refund $19,000.

I could go on with this tale of woe for a long time but I won't except possibly to add that there is also such a thing as physical production which means the building and painting of scenery and the making of costumes. You may also have heard of stagehands and workshops. These are the fellows who build and paint the scenery and later on handle it for rehearsals and performances. They too get heavily paid and while they work very hard for their money the total figure for stage operations in the budget is a pretty staggering one.

Let me not go into any more details but let me give you one example all the same. We had three new productions for the last New York season, one of them a very charming and elegant French operetta. The costume budget for this production is in the neighborhood of $65,000. Need I really add any more figures?

Well, gentlemen, you may have to take it from me that this state of affairs is unchangeable, that a deficit is the very life blood of opera and that we will have opera only so long as there are sufficient people around who love this crazy form of art sufficiently not only to come and pay for their tickets but also to chip in more substantially whenever we are in dire need—which is always.

I hope I haven't bored you too much but even if I have I think I have done you a great favor: all of you will now go back to your executive desks and settle down comfortably and smugly pleased with the consoling knowledge that you at least are not making shoes at $4.50 that have to be sold at $3.95.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Z. S. Phimister.

"SCIENCE COMES OUTSIDE THE LABORATORY"

An Address by

SIR CHARLES F. GOODEVE, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Director, The British Iron & Steel Research Association, London

Thursday, April 4, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: We are happy to welcome as our guest speaker today a Scientist of unusual distinction and in fact a man whose name in connected with the more thrilling aspects of war in the twentieth century.

Born in Winnipeg, son of Canon Frederick Goodeve of the city, he was a lecturer in Science at the University of Manitoba at the age of 19. In 1927 he went to England and at the outbreak of war was a Reader in Physical Chemistry at University College, London.

It was in 1940 that he was appointed head of a group of a dozen or so scientists assembled by the Royal Navy in London under the innocent sounding title of the Inspectorate of Anti-Aircraft Weapons and Devices. This department was dearly loved by Churchill who called it "The Department of Wheezers and Dodgers". Thus began a fascinating story of research and invention which was destined to influence the whole of the war. The story is told in some detail in a book by Gerald Pawle entitled "The Secret War 1939-1945". In reviewing this book, Percy Rowe hazarded the opinion that with the possible exception of Lord Beaverbrook it was Sir Charles Goodeve who did more than any other Canadian for the Allied war effort. The Foreword to the book is by Nevil Shute, who worked under Sir Charles during the war.

It must have been quite a change to switch from magnetic mines and degaussing equipment, Oerlikon guns, rocket ships, hedgehog bombs and Mulberry Harbours to peacetime preoccupation with the iron and steel industry in Britain as Director of the British Iron & Steel Research Association.

Sir Charles has been visiting India and Australia and so has come to talk to us at the same stage of round-the-world tour as Sir Harry Pilkington did in December 1955. It is a happy coincidence that they should both be with us today.

The subject chosen by Sir Charles Goodeve for his address today is "Science Comes Outside the Laboratory".

SIR CHARLES F. GOODEVE: First of all, Mr. President, I should like to thank you for your very kind introductory remarks, and I should also like to say how pleased I am to be back again in Toronto—a city that I have had the pleasure to visit on quite a number of occasions these last fifteen or twenty years.

You have heard a reference to the war and perhaps I might start from there. The war brought forth many new things that continue to affect our lives today and one of these is the subject of my talk.

Early in the war, half a dozen scienists were sent to Fighter Command by our friend on my right, Sir Robert Watson-Watt, to teach them how to use the new radio location device known as "radar". They decided to do some research into operations of the Command, into the deployment and control of our aircraft. This research used the most rigorous scientific methods and required these to be welded to the fighting experiences of the Air personnel. Radar itself made a ten-fold increase in the effectiveness of the Royal Air Force at a critical time of the Battle of Britain. But this research into the operations of the aircraft under radar control made them about twice as effective again. Each aircraft now became equal to twenty on the old basis. The success of the Battle of

Britain was primarily due to radar, but secondly, to this introduction of science into operations.

Science had come to help people to use the tools which science had given them—tools which had been designed inside the laboratory. Now scientists were outside the laboratory studying the use of these tools.

From that beginning, if it were a beginning, Operational Research has grown considerably in Great Britain, particularly, since the war. There are now sixty to eighty Operational Research Units in industry and government departments, carrying on these techniques and developing new techniques. There are many more units in the United States, a larger country, where the subject has expanded even more vigorously.

In the United Kingdom there is an Operational Research Society, now about nine years old, which has pulled together the activities of all these rather scattered groups in a wide range of industries. In the United States there is the Operations Research Society of America. I was pleased to find on my visit to Australia and India that there are societies being set up in both these countries. Here, as many of you will know, is the first Canadian Society—the Operations Research Society of Toronto, the President of which is with us today. I hope before long we shall see an all Canada Operations Research Society.

We have seen many technological advances in recent years, but unfortunately the development of society has not kept pace with the technological advances. One could quote many examples. I think the most serious one, and the one perhaps least talked about, is the fact that medical science is prevented, or at least discouraged, from being applied in large parts of the world because of the terrible consequences that would ensue if the death rate were reduced; instead of men dying of disease, they would die of famine because the sociological state of that particular community has not kept pace. I have been rather conscious of this problem during my visit to India and Pakistan.

Another characteristic of the present age is that words like "peace" and "freedom" which formerly had a meaning for us, have become so twisted for some particular purpose that you don't really know what they are intended to mean when used. Conclusions as to cause and effect are reached in a very loose way. You find that the politicians are blamed for acts of God and God is blamed for the acts of politicians!

So you can hardly be surprised that, when scientists come outside the laboratory, they at first get rather bewildered, because they have had a rather sheltered and perhaps narrow training. They have been brought up with a sense of discipline, a very rigorous sense of discipline, and in that discipline they believe that there *is* something for which they use the word "truth"—another word which is very much abused.

What is more, they believe they have a method of finding what truth is, or at least of getting nearer to it, since you can rarely get to absolute truth. That method is not based on what people say, nor on what authorities say. It is based on the experiences of people, the experiences of all people or at least of a large number of people. It requires that these experiences be carefully recorded, collated and analyzed. That is part of what we call the "scientific method".

Most scientists consider the scientific method to be a very high form of culture. In its ideological sense, it certainly is an extremely high form of culture. It does not however, always reach to those heights, indeed it very often does not.

I cannot attempt to describe here a method which requires years and years of training, but I would like to remind you that science is one of the most human forms of activity. The whole of the progress of science depends upon the imaginations of people, the fluidity of their minds, unrestricted by prejudices. It is an extremely human activity.

But it is not only a human activity. Everything which is created in the imagination has to be put to the test of an experiment, to the test of other people's opinions, to the test of argument and sometimes very vigorous argument. Non-scientists sometimes chuckle when they see scientists disagreeing. They don't realize that that is an essential part of their discipline. A scientist starts off by disagreeing and remains this way until he is convinced; he is a very disagreeable person, in a way!

The scientific method is based on measuring things wherever possible. If you are going to compare your experiences with other people's experiences and are able only to describe them qualitatively, then you can't be very sure of the answer. But if you can measure these experiences precisely, then you can make your comparison more rigorously and thus get closer to the truth. So measurement becomes an essential part of the scientific method, an essential part of Operational Research.

When a scientist comes out of the laboratory to study the operations of a part of the social system he must first get clear what he means by an operation. The simplest way to do this is to say that an operation consists of two parts. The first is a decision taken by anybody, such as the simple decision of stopping at a ttraffic junction, or else an important decision like that of the Prime Minister of a country. The second part is the action following the decision; later there are perhaps further decisions and further actions. So an operation consists of a sequence of decisions and actions. The studies of science come in at the decision stage or before. There is, of course, an implied assumption here, which I hope you will accept without argument, that you can always make a better decision if you know more about what you are deciding! Sometimes that is not true and sometimes you have to make a decision very quickly and can't wait for science to help.

I would like to emphasize that. Operational Research is not a cure-all. It only helps in certain kinds of decision-taking and I hope to illustrate this presently by some examples. But even if it does not help to solve the whole problem, a knowledge of this discipline of science helps most people if only because it demands clearer thinking as to what is being talked about and what the real objectives are. If you are talking about "peace" it demands to know why you want to talk about peace, and what you mean by peace—presumably not just peace at any price.

The branch of science to which I have referred has come into many of our activities. It has come into transport in a very big way, particularly in Britain and the United States, and I think to some extent in Canada. It has come into a large part of British industry to study the flow of materials throughout the factories, to study the interactions of one department on another and to study whether some problem of one departmental manager is really the problem as he sees it. It has come in to optimize the stock of the wholesaler and the flow of goods. It is used to measure the efficiency or the productivity of parts of a process and, to do this, the right method of measuring productivity must first be found.

Decision-taking is a balancing operation. If you are going to make a decision you really are consciously or sub-consciously balancing the pros and cons of two or more alternatives. The better you can measure or assess the alternatives the more accurately you can balance.

I will illustrate this by an example which is important in the British economy. We bring a large amount of iron ore into Great Britain with large numbers of ships from ports all over the Atlantic waters. These ships come in to about eight or ten British ports and in a very erratic sort of way. You can't contol ships—they are controlled by the weather. Four or more may come in to a port on one day and then perhaps none for a week. As a consequence, ships sometimes have to queue up waiting at anchor to get alongside the unloading wharf, and this costs nearly one thousand dollars per day per ship.

One could install very high capacity unloading equipment to cope with the four or five ships that might arrive on one day and thus avoid the delays of queues or one could have just enough unloading equipment to cope with the average intake and not worry about the ships waiting. If you have the first condition you obtain high efficiency in the operation of the ships and gross inefficiency in the operation of the port. If you have the second you get efficiency in the port and inefficiency in the ships.

This is a clear case where two efficiencies are in rigorous competition and it would seem likely that a balance between the two would produce a lower over-all cost than either extreme. Research soon showed that this was true and indeed showed exactly what was the lowest cost balance for any set of circumstances. To the surprise of many people the answer came out that you had to have about twice as much equipment at the port as would be necessary for the aevarge intake.

In other words you had to have enough so that the men and equipment are idle for half the time. Under these circumstances the over-all cost of ore is reduced considerably. The ratio of two given here applies to ports with an annual intake between 1 and 2 million tons.

In Great Britain we have been operating very far from this optimum balance. You might ask how did that come about but, the answer is very simple. The thousand dollars a day was not being paid by the man who ran the unloading equipment and he naturally cared only about the efficiency of his own show.

The solution of the problem was to couple those two inefficiences, and now one-third of the cost of the ships delay is paid for by the man who unloads the ore. It now pays him to install higher capacity equipment and he is quite happy to have this and his men idle at times because he saves money in the long run.

There are many other examples to illustrate the way science is helping management. I would like, however, to talk about a few broader national problems. We all believe in a democratic system which is based on decision-taking by a majority in some elected council or parliament. We believe rather firmly that it is right to make decisions that way.

I do not know whether you have thought about it but if you start analyzing how that majority got there you get rather disturbed; perhaps one shouldn't disturb people about a happy situation.

Let us take for example a community in which you have just a two-party system and in which the people are divided, let us say, 51 to 49 per cent for the respective parties. In most countries, for example, in the United States, Great Britain and Canada, it works out in practice that in a Parliament of 400 representatives there would probably be a majority of about 26. In other words the ratio of 51 to 49 in voters becomes 213 to 187 in representatives or a majority of 4% in voters becomes about 13% in representatives. Now this modest degree of exaggeration turns out to be a good thing but how does it come about? Why is it not more or not less? A study made to answer this has led to a most alarming conclusion in that the exaggeration only stays at the above degree because people somehow or other segregate themselves to a certain fixed extent in accordance with their political allegiances.

If we took the voting slips of all the people in the community, that is the 51 and 49 per cent, and mixed then up thoroughly in a pot and drew out batches of say 25,000 slips to represent each constituency, we could determine the political colour of the representatives by finding which had the majority in each batch. This would give exactly the same answer as if the people were thoroughly mixed up inside each constituency and between constituencies. It is easy to prove that the ratio of the representatives would no longer be 213 to 187 but 399 to 1, which of course would be unworkable. It seems therefore that our democratic system would not work at all if it was not for the fact that people who think alike tend to live close together.

That is something rather disturbing. I do not know the answer except that we have to watch our system rather carefully or it would break down. Proportional representation gives worse troubles in another direction.

As you have heard from your President, I have had the privilege of visiting some other nations in our Commonwealth. India, particularly, is a land of problems. In a way it is a gold mine for scientists, if they want problems; there are more per square inch than in any other place I have been. One of the encouraging things about India is that the Indian people are studying themselves and using all the latest techniques of Operational Research. They have learned these in Britain and have had British and other European people out there to help them and they are making a very active attack on their problems. They cannot claim much success as yet because the problems are so enormous.

They are taking dozens of villages as samples and studying the whole of the economics, the habits of the people, the transport associated with those people, how they sow their crops, how they think politically, and they are measuring these things. In the next stage they are going to study how they can influence the operation of these villages which have such a large effect on the progress of the Indian economy.

Above all, and this is perhaps the most encouraging thing I saw during my visit, they are tackling the problem to which I referred at the beginning, that is the problem of control of population. All thinking Indians firmly believe they can no longer go along on the assumption that children should be born into the world simply to die of disease or famine, there is a higher ideal than that in the future of the Indian people.

India needs a lot of help—she needs a lot of help from all parts of the Commonwealth, Canada, Australia and Great Britain.

Australia, by contrast, was to me at first a land of no problems. Their wonderful climate gives indeed a most favourable impression — a great prosperity, wonderful cities and almost everything you can want.

But, of course, as you stay there awhile you begin to find some problems, and their worst problem is that of transport and, curiously enough, about the only field of Australian society in which I could find no research. It is a problem which I hope and I think they will soon tackle using in part the methods of operational research.

By contrast I should like to mention one example in Australia which may not be known to you. You, of course are conscious of your great St. Lawrence Seaway project. You are also conscious of the great achievement which I unfortunately just failed to see last week at Kitimat. But you perhaps do not know that the Australians are undertaking a project at least as big as each of these—the Snowy Mountain project. They are harnessing all the waters on the oceanside of this great mountain range damming it in large reservoirs and pushing the water to irrigate vast territories of Australia. At the same time large quantities of electricity will be generated.

The interesting part is not only the conception and magnitude of the task and the vigour with which it is going ahead. That large scheme is a very complex one with dozens of tunnels and about twenty-five power stations and will require the most highly developed methods of control. These are now being studied by Operational Research methods which are leading to the design of an electronic computer that will daily tell the management of that organization how best to use the enormously complicated set of water resources according to the nation's neeeds on that particular day. This computer will not use a series of theoretical mathematical formulae, but rather will use the experiences of the last fifty years in the rainfall of that part of Australia. Week by week new corrections will be put in as experience grows on the operating side, so the whole vast enterprise will operate with the maximum efficiency from the very beginning.

I wish I were staying longer here in Canada so that I could pick out some of Canada's problems and see how they are being tackled. I must plead substantial ignorance. Therefore, my neck is stuck out further and further for anybody to chop my head off!

I understand that one of your problems is how to prevent your children from growing up in a Canada which is largely or very substantially owned by people from foreign parts and particularly from across the border to the south. Apparently Canadians do not save enough to invest in their own country. I do not know the figures but I believe that whatever the savings are they are not enough. I do not mean to suggest that investment from abroad is a bad thing—far from it—but it is not as good as investment by Canadians.

There are lots of ways one could tackle a problem of this kind. One suggestion that was put to me was to tax the production of paper. Supposing one analyzed a proposition of that kind. First of all, of course, one could determine the direct money that could be raised by taxing paper production. That money would be owned here and put into Canadian resources, just as the Snowy Mountain scheme is entirely owned by Australians and their children.

Of course taxing paper would reduce the amount of advertising and in doing so, it might reduce expenditure on consumer goods which now compete too successfully with savings for investment in Canada. I say "might" because the selling power of a page of advertisements would go up if there were less paper; as it is today, people cannot read all that is put out.

All these things are measurable, or at least predictable within a certain degree, and I think one of the ways Canada should tackle the investment problem is to examine the various possibilities in a clear way and not be disturbed by certain people who think they might be hurt.

This is a matter, of course, of economics. One of the hardest jobs of science is to penetrate economics. I am reminded of a story of a Professor who was being visited by one of his old students. It happened that he was setting the annual examination. He gave the paper to the old student who took a look at it and said, "I don't understand. This is exactly the same paper that I wrote six years ago."

The Professor said, "It is always the same paper".

The student said, "But you must change something every year?"

"Oh yes, we change the answers!"

More than anywhere else science is needed in economics, particularly to impress upon the community that there are such feelings as general experiences in economics that have become so universal that they are now really established as laws.

One of these, the "first law of economics", says that you cannot export more or less than you import. There is no such thing as an unbalance of trade unless you define your exports and imports in a manner which leaves out certain important things. Our friends across the border have been trying to defeat this law for fifty years, and now their "success" is measured exactly by the gold they now have buried in Fort Knox. I am told that the Canadian Government have helped by subsidizing gold production.

Well now, I will end only by saying that when a scientist comes outside the laboratory and gets into these fields which managers and others have always thought to be their own, do not look upon him as somebody who is going to do your job for you. There are not many scientists who have been successful in doing the jobs of management because their training has generally been too narrow. In the industries that use scientists in the management team in Britain, the head of the operational research section is in the same position as the Chief Accountant. He is there to help management by providing him with a new tool.

The other idea I would like to leave with you is that if you take the trouble to learn something about the scientist's way of thinking I believe you will find that your own job will become very much more interesting.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John Griffin.

"THE PURPOSE OF PARLIAMENT"

An Address by

E. DAVIE FULTON, B.A., M.P.
Progressive Conservative Member
for Kamloops, B.C.

Thursday, April 11, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp,O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: My Lord Bishop, My Lord Justice, distinguished guests and members of the Empire Club of Canada, we are happy to have with us today a visit from one of the most interesting policital personalities of the day, Edmond Davie Fulton, M.P. The fact that he is with us at a time when our political ear is more acutely tuned than usual to the political situation does us no harm and I am sure does him no harm either. We are particularly glad also to have him as a visitor from British Columbia where he was born on March 10, 1916, at Kamloops, the son of Frederick John Fulton, K.C., and Winifred M. Davie. His grandfather, A. E. B. Davie, and great uncle, Theodore Davie, were premiers of B.C., the latter being appointed Chief Justice of B.C. in 1896. This explains his middle name and I am sure that you will agree that it is most important that he should be known as Davie Fulton.

He was educated at St. Michael's School, Victoria, and Kamloops High School, and he obtained the degree of B.A. at the University of British Columbia after which he was elected a Rhodes scholar in 1936 and attended St. John's College, Oxford, from 1937 to 1939 where he also earned the degree of B.A.

He is married to a Winnipeg girl and has three daughters and he is a barrister and solicitor, partner in the legal firm of Fulton, Morley, Verchers & Rogers, Kamloops, B.C.

We welcome him also for his distinguished career in the Canadian army in which he served with the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada and H.Q. is the Canadian Division. After the war he transferred to the reserve of officers with the rank of Major.

His activities outside of politics include membership in the Senate of the University of British Columbia for four 3-year terms in 1948-1951-1954-1957. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1945 and shortly afterwards became President of the Young Progressive-Conservatives of Canada for the years 1946-9. He was re-elected at the general elections of 1949 and 1953 to represent Kamloops. He will speak to us today about the purpose of parliament. Mr. Fulton.

MR. E. DAVIE FULTON: It may well seem to you to be of the nature of an exercise in the obvious to discuss the purpose of Parliament with you today. Particularly will this seem to be so when I say that, in order to discuss it, we have to define what we mean by that purpose. The idea of Parliament is so well known to everyone, and everyone has his own ideas, which he more or less takes for granted, of why Parliament exists and what purpose it is supposed to serve.

In a phrase, and the generally accepted phrase, Parliament exists in order to ensure and to preserve the system of Parliamentary responsible Government.

There is one word that is the key to the whole purpose, and that word, I fear, is often used without being fully understood. That is the word "responsible". What do we mean when we say that the purpose of parliament is to ensure responsible Government?

It is essential to remember that our system of Government is not just a system of Parliamentary Government: in fact it is not, strictly speaking, a Government by Parliament at all. It is a system of Government by an executive responsible to Parliament, properly described in the phrase Parliamentary responsible Government. The whole function and purpose of Parliament, in fact, is not to govern but to hold the Government responsible, in the sense of being accountable for all its acts and proposals to the people through their Parliament.

Unless Parliament does this, it fails in its duty to itself and in its obligation to the people who elected it for that purpose. In order, therefore, to assess the question of whether Parliament is discharging its function it is necessary to examine the extent to which it is in fact holding the Government responsible or accountable to it. And it is this question that I should like to discuss with you.

The reason why I should like to discuss this question here today, in this season and before this audience, is because I believe there are disturbing signs of a misunderstanding as to what are in fact the purposes and functions of Parliament. In what I have to say I shall, of course, be expressing my views throughout entirely on an individual basis. I shall be discussing them from the point of view of a practising politician. But in exactly the same sense that Clemenceau uttered the famous sentence that war is too important to a nation to be entrusted exclusively to the Generals, so I believe that politics is too important, and the operation, meaning and function of Parliament is too vital to the welfare of our nation to be regarded as a matter of concern only to those who sit in it. It is essential that you in this audience, and the very much wider field of Canadians generally with whom you come in contact and upon whom you may have some influence, should be concerned to understand and insist upon the correct functioning of Parliament. It is with that thought in mind that I venture upon this discussion with you today.

In order to determine the nature and meaning of the purpose of Parliament, it is helpful to take a brief look at the development of the institution itself. And here as in so many other matters, it is necessary, if we are to understand our own position, to go back to the history of the constitutional development of the British people;

for by our own decision, taken here in Canada at the time of the birth of our nation and maintained ever since, we specifically adopted "a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom". So an understanding of how Parliament there came to occupy the position it does will help us to assess the position and functioning of our own Parliament.

Without going into too much detail, it can be said that Parliament as we know it came into existence as the means by which the people—the Commons—curbed the abuse of power by the Crown. It must be remembered, of course, that the Commons then was not the people in the sense that we think of that word today—there was no universal suffrage in those days. But the whole history of the original development of Parliament was the history of the struggle between the executive government, in those days vested almost personally in the Crown, and those whom he governed. The King asserted the absolute right to govern, to legislate, to tax and to spend, as he saw fit. The Commons asserted the right to be consulted on any such measures before they became law or were acted on.

The long struggle, as we all know, resulted in eventual victory for the Commons. The King still governs, but now only with the concent of his people. The form is so customary today, so comfortable, that we come dangerously close to forgetting that it was won only by unceasing and unremitting struggle. Even after the formal establishment of a Parliament, with a Ministry in Parliament, there was a continuing struggle between the King's party—the Ministers and their immediate supporters—and what might roughly be called the People's party. The former sought constantly to by-pass and circumvent the Parliament, the latter fought to ensure that the form of responsibility and Parliamentary control should be no meaningless ritual but an actual fact. This was no mere Parliamentary jockeying, no matter of manoeuvring for the sake of impressing the public: it was a grim and earnest struggle, attended on occasion by considerable bloodshed.

The results of that long struggle are today embodied in the sentence which now introduces every piece of legislation which comes out of Parliament. Every one, whether it be a bill dealing with some general subject, a bill authorizing the imposition of a tax, or a bill authorizing the spending of your money, commences with these words:

> "Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows."

What we should never forget is that these words are there because of the unremitting struggle between popular power and executive power.

There is one other significant feature of responsible government which takes its form and meaning from the history of the development of the Parliamentary process. It is this: that government in Canada is responsible first to Parliament, and in the fullest sense of the word is responsible only through Parliament to the people. It is true that ultimate popular power, as distinct from executive power, rests with the people; but the historical fact is that the cause of popular power was won for the people by Parliament. And this power is exercised on behalf of the people by Parliament. It is in this sense that the first responsibility of government is to Parliament, and the first duty of Parliament is to hold the Government responsible.

Some words of a great Parliamentarian and a great interpreter of the popular will may serve to emphasize this point. Writing in the North American *Review* in the year 1878, Gladstone said as follows:

> "It is a cardinal axiom of the modern British Constitution that the House of Commons is the greatest of the powers of the state. It might, by a base subserviency, fling itself at the feet of a Monarch or a Minister . . . The Commons are armed with ample powers of self defence. If they use their powers properly, they can only be mastered by a recurrence to the people, and the way in which the appeal takes effect is by the choice of another House of Commons

more agreeable to the national temper. Thus the sole appeal from the verdict of the House is a rightful appeal to those from whom it received its commission."

Now the reason I have reviewed this historical development is because it establishes two features of Parliament which I believe it is essential to understand and keep always in mind if we are to discuss intelligently the purpose of Parliament.

The first is that Parliament exists for the purpose of controlling the executive, of holding it accountable and responsible in the fullest sense. The executive—the government—has power; it must have power and it must exercise that power if government is to be carried on. But it is as true today as it was when Lord Acton first said it, that all power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Parliament then is the means by which, under our system, the people have been and are able to ensure that government is made responsive and responsible to the public good rather than to the wishes and ambitions of an unfettered authority.

The second feature is that Parliament is a representative institution to which the people have entrusted the task of acting for them with respect to this matter of controlling and giving consent to the proposals of the executive. Government under our system is by King-in-Parliament. It is Parliament's assent that is required before any measure can become law, not any direct or collective assent by the people. That means that, in the same measure as Parliament's first duty is to hold the government responsible, so the Government's first and strict responsibility is to Parliament. In essence, therefore, a government must first submit itself and its proposals to the verdict of Parliament, and accept that verdict and its consequences. It is irresponsibility to seek to by-pass or avoid such a verdict.

With these principles in mind—or rather facts, as I would prefer to call them—we can now take a look at the questions I really came here to discuss: is Parliament fulfilling its purpose? If it is not, what is the cause of the defect? And what remedies might be suggested?

First, then, we must look at the question of whether Parliament is really performing its function of holding the government strictly accountable. Here I believe it can and must be said that there are many thoughtful Canadians who are concerned over the apparent ability of governments to ride roughshod over opposition, who ask whether Parliament really does hold the government responsible—and even some who may subscribe to the view expressed by one prominent member of one government in Canada that "If we want to get away with it, who is there to stop us?" Certainly when, as happened in the debate on the Pipeline Bill last year, 3 out of 7 of the clauses of a bill involving a potential commitment of $200 million of taxpayers' money were carried with a maximum of 45 seconds discussion, every second of that time being occupied by the Minister in charge—certainly when these things happen, one is entitled to question whether Parliament is actually exercising or able to exercise that function of holding the government accountable in the sense of having to explain and justify its proposals.

In taking a critical look at this situation, however, while as a partisan I might be inclined—and indeed was so inclined—to lay the blame exclusively in one quarter (and after all even politicians must accept responsibility for their political conduct!) nevertheless I do frankly confess that there are those who feel that there is here no problem, and that such a course and such a trend carries no blame for those who adopted it, but on the contrary only for those who opposed and criticized it.

It is this divergence of opinion as to the functions and duties of Parliament, that we find the nub of the problem. I venture to suggest that if that attitude of mind were to prevail generally in Canada it would mean we are failing to understand what Parliament is for and about, and if we misunderstand it then we are in danger of casting away all that Parliament has stood for and could mean.

The attitude of mind I refer to is one that has two manifestations. The first is, that it is the duty of members of a legislature on the government side to accept uncritically the proposals which the administration introduces, simply because the Government has introduced them and therefore they must be good. The second is, that no matter how strong may be the criticisms advanced against the merits of a proposal, no matter how sincere and deep rooted may be the opposition to the principle, this is of no account provided the majority is pledged to it and willing to vote it through.

Now there may be some justification for the second view as a matter of argument, for certainly democracy is based on majority rule. But there can be no rational justification for the first, for it is surely not based on either logic or intuition. Yet it is unfortunate to have to record that in recent years both views have been urged, and urged seriously, both in and out of the House of Commons, as a basis for accepting legislation. I respect the sincerity with which the view may be held, but it is surely open to suggest that it denotes an erroneous concept of the very nature and purposes of Parliament so fundamental as to require immediate and serious discussion.

Now the point of departure here is, I believe, that neither view could ever be seriously advanced if there was a true appreciation of the position in which both historical development and inescapable duty places a Member of Parliament. That position is, that he is there as one whose instinctive approach to every proposal should be one of critical wariness. He should, in my view, remember the tradition to which he is heir, he should remember the temptations to which power exposes all men. He should remember that the first duty is to hold the Government accountable, and that the consent referred to in the introductory words to every statute which I have quoted, implies an acquiescence given after being convinced by argument and logic. It implies an act of reason, not an act of faith.

I can well imagine that at this point many will say that I must be frustrated indeed if I expect to see in any Parliament government supporters assisting in bringing down the government! Others may suggest that such an approach invites chaos and instability such as has beset France in recent years. Of course I am aware of these factors, and do not suggest for a moment that it should ever become normal, or even expected, that government supporters in any parliament should carry things, except in extreme and rare cases, to the point of voting against the ministry. But I am seriously suggesting that, somewhere short of this it is not only desirable but even essential that there be a critical attitude of mind which will cast at least a pale shadow of the spirit of those Parliaments which first challenged and eventually subdued executive power to the collective authority of the people.

Of course everyone realizes, that, in the end there will nearly always be a majority supporting the Ministry. Otherwise the Ministry falls. Parliament particularly, and our own political system generally, is organized on the party basis to ensure that we shall be able to have a government which can say it commands the confidence of a majority in the House.

But to command the general support of a majority should not be to require the elimination of individual reason. This, Mr. Chairman, I believe with all my heart, must be accepted by all governments and all parties in every Parliament if responsible government is to mean anything. In his interesting and valuable contribution to "A Survey of Parliament" the late L. S. Amery discusses what he calls this misconception regarding the meaning of majority decision and majority rule:

> "Decision by majority is not an absolute and unquestionable principle. Our Constitution, to use Burke's phrase, 'is somethng more than a problem in arithmetic'. There is no divine right of a mere numerical majority . . . any more than of Kings . . . When it comes to legislation it is of the very essence of our conception of the reign of law that it should not be regarded as a mere emanation of the will of the government, but as something accepted by the nation as a whole . . . The requisite of consent for changing the law, . . . is the root from which sprang

> our whole Parliamentary system . . . The idea that a majority, just because it a majority, is entitled to pass, without full discussion, what legislation it pleases, regardless of the extent of the changes involved or of the intensity of the opposition to them—the idea, in fact that majority edicts are the same thing as laws—is wholly alien to the spirit of the Constitution".

It is thus seen that the merits and acceptability of issues are not really settled by the mere process of counting noses, to borrow an expression recently and unfortunately used by the present Prime Minister, and to suggest that they are surely completely to misunderstand the nature and meaning of the Parliamentary process. But insofar as this attitude may reflect public opinion generally, then it is necessary to carry the discussion outside into that forum. For it is only if there is a general understanding on the part of all our people of the nature of Parliament, and the demand that there be a critical attitude towards the executive on the part of their representatives generally in Parliament, that the health and strength of Parliament will survive, its function and purpose be fulfilled, and the abuse of power be curtailed.

There is another authoritative statement of what Parliament is, or should be, with relation to this question of its function of holding the Government responsible that I should like to lay before you. Lest I be accused of partiality, let me quote to you a most eminent Canadian Liberal statesman, the late Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speaking of Parliament in 1932, he used the following words:

> "The first duty of Parliament is to remain a Parliament, not to become a subservient and ornamental body. . . . It is the will of Parliament, not that of the Government, that is the will of the nation. . . . The sovereignty of the people is delegated to Parliament, not to the executive, and when I say "Parliament" it means the authority as well as the majority in Parliament".

On the premises which I have outlined, and on the authorities which I have referred to, you will probably have been able to guess that to my first question—Is Parliament fulfilling its purposes?—I must give the answer—no, Parliament has not been able to do so in recent years in all respects. Parliament has not been able to hold the Government fully responsible or accountable in every way and on all occasions. To the second question I posed earlier—If not, wherein lies the defects?—I would give the answer: in the attitude of mind that says that majority opinion is all that counts, that the merits of an issue are to be settled by weight of numbers and not of argument, and that therefore Parliamentary debate is something to be endured but not seriously regarded.

In all this, you will appreciate that we are talking about trends and dangers, not inevitable results. I do not believe that Parliament is irretrievably doomed, or that we have lost forever that sense of tradition which made Parliament what it is. It is proper to suggest, however, that things could be better and that Parliament could be healthier—and that is where I come to my third question: what can be done to remedy the situation?

The answer to this question, of course, depends upon what it is we want to do. My position is that what we must do is restore the sense of conflict between Parliament and executive, restore reality and vitality to the process of Parliamentary debate and discussion, to get back to the situation where consent means reconciliation of conflicting views rather than the imposition of decision by weight of numbers; in short, to implement the word "responsible" in its full meaning.

But in thus suggesting that people should expect of their Parliament a more critical and independent examination of Government proposals by all Members, and a stricter adherence to the principle of responsibility and accountability of Government, it would be unrealistic not to recognize that the people desire—and indeed orderly Government itself requires—that there be some system which will provide a reasonable certainty and continuity. The problem therefore seems to be that most difficult one of reconciling a reasonable certainty of outcome with the opportunity for critical examination and the expression of conflicting opinions.

To a large extent, of course, this problem has been grappled with and met by the development of the formal system of Government and Opposition. To the Opposition has been allocated specifically the role of criticizing the Government's proposals. But is this alone sufficient to maintain the curbs on Government power? Grave doubts are expressed in many quarters as to whether, with the increase in the volume and complexity of Government business, the specialist knowledge now necessary even to understand, let alone to solve the problems now being dealt with in Parliament, we shall be able to achieve that balance and maintain full responsibility without certain changes in policy and attitudes both inside and outside Parliament.

There is first of all the vital matter of obtaining information. No Government can be held fully accountable unless full information as to its acts and proposals is made available. There are various ways in which this can be done—and refused. The most important of these is by Committees. But it is an unfortunate fact that too many of these Committees are at present the victims of the state of mind I have already referred to, and tend to be regarded at best as mere convenient methods of speeding Government's proposals into final legislative form, or at worst as means of protecting the administration rather than exposing it.

Nowhere is this more important than in the Estimates Committee. It is perfectly obvious that it is impossible for the whole House of 265 Members to examine adequately the details of spending the vast sum of over $5 billion annually, spread as it is over more than 40 departments and agencies. Yet it is one of Parliament's primary duties to scrutinize proposals for spending the public money. And so after many years of urging, an Estimates Committee was finally established three years ago.

But unfortunately the same attitude of mind governs this Committee, and we find that instead of being given a free hand to investigate, it is allowed to examine only those items of spending which the Government refers to it, that it has no nower to conduct an independent inquiry or to call for witnesses and evidence. The Minister of a department under investigation is virtually in full charge, sitting at the right hand of the Chairman and deciding upon who shall answer questions, so that only the information he decides shall be given is made available.

This is not the case in the United Kingdom, where their Estimates Committee has full power to decide what items it will examine and to call and question whatever witnesses it may determine. No Minister sits on the Committee or intervenes in any way in the making of those decisions.

Another most important feature that is lacking in our Parliament is what might be called any sort of safety valve. I have already agreed that the function of opposing and of possibly defeating the Government is officially that of the Opposition, and that to expect Members of the Government Party to help in the defeat of the Government is asking far too much! But within these limits it is, I believe, still proper to suggest that private Members of the majority Party, as Commoners, must be free to accept their responsibility of taking full share in the business of holding the Government responsible. A method of enabling Members generally to criticize and object without going so far as to be pledged to defeat or vote against the Government would, by providing a "safety valve", go a long way towards enabling majority Members to exercise their most important role as Commoners; the restraint of the power of the executive.

Nothing so emboldens an executive as the knowledge that they are able to count on the unthinking and almost unspeaking support of a given number at any time; nothing would contribute more to making them responsive than the knowledge they might be called to account at any time by any Member or group of Members—including their own. The British House has provided two main forms of "safety valve"—the right to raise any matter for half an hour at the time of daily adjournment, and the opportunity to raise matters more formally but still quickly on a motion signed by a specified number of Members. By this process there is given considerable relief from the otherwise severe but probably necessary restriction imposed by the rules on freedom of debate. Such means, resorted to with a refreshing frequency by Government Members as well, have been most salutary there in enforcing an account, and often a revision, of Government policy. Some such device would, I believe, be a salutary weapon in the Canadian House of Commons.

There are other changes which might be mentioned which would be helpful—some in, some outside the House. It is and has long been my personal view that a change is desirable in our system of appointing Speakers, so that there will be guaranteed a permanent and non-partisan occupant of that high and important office. This is a view I held and expressed long before the events of last year.

Then too it must be realized that our rules of debate were designed for the situation, and worked best, when a strong Government is opposed by a united and strong Opposition, not a multiplicity of Parties such as there is now.

The restoration of the two-Party system, with the alternative Party occupying the Government benches with rather greater frequency than has been the case in this generation, would do much to restore to Parliament that vigour and certainty which is its glory. That, however, is a reform which is in the hands of the people outside of Parliament. It is one in which I have a more than passing personal interest—but in view of the imminence of an event in which an appeal is now being made to the Canadian people to take advantage of their golden opportunity to bring about that particular reform, it would be impossible to discuss it without political overtones more appropriate to another type of forum!

Seriously however, it must be admitted that the future of Parliament does rest in the hands of the people themselves, and will be determined by their attitude and actions. I do not mean this in the sense only that it depends on the political affiliations of those whom they send there, but in the sense of what our people themselves think of the purpose of Parliament and what they expect in that regard from those whom they send to represent them. Parliament will in the long run reflect the attitude and thinking of those who elect it, particularly with respect to its own rights, privileges and purposes. It is for that reason I have discussed its purpose with this audience here today.

Parliament has a high and noble purpose. It is to ensure that every law shall conform as far as possible to what is desirable not only for the promotion of material welfare but also to serve and advance moral and ethical standards. This it does, this it can only do, by debate, discussion and examination. Since virtually exclusive power to initiate proposals rests with the executive, Parliament must not only have, but must exercise, the full right and function of calling that executive to accont. At its highest point, this function, this principle of responsibility, is best exemplified when it is freely given and fully accepted.

Let me apply words of Mr. Amery's, in the articles already referred to, to our own position:

> "The word responsibility has . . . two senses. It connotes not only accountability to an outside or final authority. It also connotes a state of mind, which weights the consequences of action and then acts, irrespective it may be, of the concurrence or approval of others. It is the strength of our Constitutional system that it encourages and fosters responsibility in that higher sense. A Canadian Government is not merely responsible to those who have appointed it or keep it in office in the sense in which an agent is responsible to his principal. It is an independent body which on taking office assumes the responsibility of leading and directing Parliament and the nation in accordance with its own judgment and convictions. Members of Parliament are no mere delegates of their constituents, but, as Burks pointed out, representatives of the nation, responsible in the last resort, to their own conscience".

If, bearing these words in mind, you and thousands others like you across the length and breadth of this land will insist first, that Members of Parliament be men and women who will be responsible in that sense, and second, that they preserve and exercise the right of holding the Government responsible to them, for which purpose you send them there, we can then be sure that Parliament will continue in the future as it has in the past, as both the promoter of our welfare and the effective guardian of our liberties.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by T. H. Howse, a Past-President of the Club.

"HOW FAST CAN MEN CHANGE"

(New Patterns of International Relations)

An Address by

DR. MARGARET MEAD, B.A., Ph.D., D. Sc., LL.D.
Associate Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History, New York

Thursday, April 18th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp,O.B.E.

MR. JUPP: It is a rare privilege today to have as our guest speaker Dr. Margaret Mead, Associate Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. She is widely known as an anthropologist, psychologist, writer, lecturer and teacher. Some of her books have been published in the mass-distribution paper-covered editions which are so popular today in sharp contrast to the limited, expensive editions of such works by earlier writers.

Dr. Mead has been associated with the American Museum of Natural History since 1926. She travelled through Europe in 1926 and 1927 but has since devoted herself mainly to the Pacific. The first years consisted of a study of the children of the Admiralty Islands of New Guinea, then came a break in 1930 with a study of an American Indian tribe. The following year Dr .Mead returned to the Pacific. It is interesting that in 1953 Dr. Mead revisited the Admiralty Islands after 25 years' absence in order to study the changes that have taken place as a primitive society coped with the problems of becoming a modern community.

Apart from the American Museum of Natural History, Dr. Mead has been associated with Columbia University, Vassar College and New York University. In 1947, Dr. Mead taught at the first of the Harvard Seminars on American Civilization in Salzburg, Germany, and at the UNESCO Workshop on International Understanding at Sevres, France. She is currently a member of the Macy Conference on Group Processes and the World Health Organization study group on the Psychological Development of the Child, and is President of the World Federation for Mental Health.

I have picked more or less at random a few of the high spots in a great life of achievement, the value of which can best be indicated by the degrees received from Barnard College and Columbia University, and from the honorary degrees received from Wilson College, Douglas College, Rutgers University, Elmira College and Western College for Women. Moreover, in 1949 she was named outstanding woman of the year in the field of Science by the Associated Press. She is a member of a long list of learned societies.

Today Dr. Mead will speak to us on "How Fast Can Man Change?", with a sub-title, "New Patterns of International Relations".

DR. MEAD: Some very odd things have happened to the title of what I am going to talk about today—part of them environmental, part of them due to a long correspondence between Mr. Beamish and myself. When I would suggest a title, then he would suggest a topic, and they kept interweaving, but I realized that when "Man" changed to "Men" in the title, and it became Ladies' Day, that a certain number of people may think I am going to talk about men. There might even be the possibility that is the reason the ladies came. This wasn't my intention. The "Men" in "How Fast Can Men Change?" doesn't mean men, it means Mankind, and includes women. So I do hope it doesn't mean that anybody is severely disappointed.

The point about change itself I want to also deal with rather briefly because international relations is what Mr. Beamish says he really wants me to talk about (in the midst of all this), and simply refer briefly to my last trip back to the Pacific where I had the opportunity to study a group of people who 25 years before had been savages within all the meaning of the act. People who wore an absolute minimum of clothing—the women wore two grass tails and the men a forked G string, and with their heads liberally decorated with bones of the dead and hair of the dead. They were not cannibals. In fact, instead of being cannibals, they only sold their victims to cannibals, and of course demonstrated their complete membership in the human race by the fact they were careful in making such ethical distinctions.

They had no political form that could hold more than two hundred people together. They had no knowledge of geography, no history, no writing. Their religion consisted of ghosts in the rafters. Each family had their own ghosts that punished them when they were bad and killed the members of neighbouring households if they interfered with their own particular household.

In the 25 years from 1928 to 1953, these people moved into the modern world under their own steam. In 1946 they went to work and redesigned their own culture and did it far better than any anthropologist or sociologist could have done. They took it apart and virtually abolished every bit they felt didn't work any more. They emancipated women and set up a democratic society. They also emancipated children. Here they made a mistake—they thought we thought children were people and they were copying us! So children over ten vote at present. Children under ten vote, but their votes aren't "counted" at meetings.

They made each individual responsible for his own household and for earning his own living. They inaugurated romantic love and people have to fall in love now, and not only fall in love, but show it. They have seen and noted American motion pictures and they have a very clear idea about how young people should demonstrate they are in love. From time to time they have meetings, pointing out to the people that they do not behave with any appropriate degree of demonstrative love in public.

They vote by division in parliamentary style, and they sufficiently grasp the idea of fair play so that if there are too many people on the majority side and too few on the minority side, two or three responsible and weighty characters will go and stand with the minority "so they won't feel too bad".

Now, I am not going to talk about these people at any length at all. I want to give just one little sample of how far they have moved from a people who 25 years before were totally incapable of understanding altruism or any type of wide loyalty whatever or understanding science in any shape or form.

After I had been there a few days, about a week this time, they came in with a whole list of revisions of child rearing practices which they had worked out that was going to evoke the proper kind of character structure for their new kind of political organization.

They said, "Would you look through these? We have done the best we could with them—but they may not be quite right. We would like you to look through them."

I said, "These are very good. There are just two or three places where they are not quite up to date in terms of the findings of the International Seminar on Mental Health and Infant Development held at Chichester, England in 1952, under the auspices of the World Health Organization of the United Nations and the World Federation for Mental Health."

And they could understand the sentence—all of it. It was possible to explain to them what we meant by "mental health", by the words, "World Health Organization", by the difference between a governmental and a voluntary organization. In 25 years they had come far enough to be able to be communicated with in terms of our most advanced international ideas. They knew the place of the Admiralty Islands in the territory of New Guinea, which is a Trust territory of Australia, they knew the relationship of their little Capital to Port Moresby, to Canberra, to London and to the United Nations.

They called what I was doing "United Nations work" because I explained that the United Nations was interested in knowing how fast people could change, and the whole technical assistance program depended on how fast they could change, and this they understood and worked with.

The findings from this particular study that I wanted to use as a background point was that we think we have been wrong in our notion that slow change is better than fast change, that on the whole if people are going to have to change very radically, then a very rapid, across-the-board change seems to be easier for them than piecemeal, fragmentary change in which you change half your ideas and leave the other half just the way they were before, or in which people change what they do at work but don't change what they do at home, in which husbands change but wives don't. Perhaps it never happens in Canada. But in the United States sometimes wives change and husbands don't, or we try to keep the old building in the old form and put a new kind of industry or a new kind of operation into it.

On the whole, if people are going to have to make a really radical change it is better to have everything support the change.

Now, we have known this for a long time in terms of immigrants who have left Europe and left peasant conditions, and come to cities on this continent. They were too poor to bring anything with them so they had to buy new furniture and they had to learn to handle a different kind of money and different kind of relations of every sort, and they bought a new sofa so when their children, in the fashion of children on the North American Continent, jumped onto the sofa they weren't jumping on a sofa sacred to the memory of any ancestors. They had left that sofa at home. That is one of the reasons the very rapid patttern change works better—each part supports the other part. You don't sit on the old sofa, eating from the old dishes, while you try to express a new idea. When people move from the country to the city it is just as well not to let them bring their pig with them. Every time they do we have trouble.

If, on the other hand, they could move into good housing that is appropriate for living in the city, so they will learn about plumbing and garbage and all the things they have so much difficulty with otherwise, we wouldn't have the kind of slums we have today and people could learn very quickly to live in the new conditions.

Now, one reason that this very rapid change seems to work so well is not only that each part supports each other part, and you are not dragged back by bits of the old, but also that it is the kind of change that is appropriate for adults that have already grown up to be human and can learn another form of humanity just as they can learn another language.

This is all I am going to do with this bit of the change point. I do want to talk today about the kind of symbols that we have for international relations and our relations to each other, particularly some of the questions that people in other parts of the world may be asking about Canada, and Canada's changing role in the world which is changing so rapidly, and the possibility that it might be a very good idea for us to scrap most of the ways in which we are thinking about other nations and, of course, incidentally, of one's own nation, and use some other models.

I realize it is very difficult for anyone to talk about Canada—perhaps most difficult for a Canadian and extremely difficult for someone from the United States of America. It is also very difficult for an anthropologist to talk about Canada because Canada's national patterns are so extraordinarily subtle and even if one knows quite a little about the United States, and quite a little about the United Kingdom, and has also had a chance to look at New Zealand and Australia and so get a little bit of triangulation into the picture, it still is very difficult always to put any salt on the tail of what is really Canadian, although it is completely recognizable.

I don't think any well-trained person would ever make a mistake. I find when I stand on a street in a Canadian city and look across the street, it couldn't be anywhere but Canada, but how can I prove it?

If you take any item in the picture—the front gate or the hedge or the shape of the windows, you could find those in other countries but there is something about the way things are put together that is Canadian. It is a subtle aspect of the pattern rather than any grossly recognizable thing.

Of course we work to some extent trying to understand Canada by a kind of cross-referencing between the United Kingdom and the United States. I suppose you do that when you decide that if you take your enormous acreage and your still small population, add them together and divide them, you turn yourselves into "a middle power", which is, I submit, being rather American, to be so quantitative.

Or if one is trying to look at the question . . . well, somebody suggested to me the other day that Canadians behaved just like Americans at home, but very differently in public. I have found that rather hard to cope with, too. I am not quite sure how one deals with that.

Then there is the question if you try to take a piece of behaviour like the vote of thanks which has disappeared in the United States, we can explain why that disappeared in the United States because in the United States the speaker is in the child's position anyway. In Britain the speaker is always acting like father, and the audience gets tired of his acting that way and the vote of thanks is the way of putting him back in his place afterward, so the really good English vote of thanks is a masterly way of putting the very best speaker into the lowest possible status at the end.

In the United States we have given this up entirely and the Chairman just says, "You will realize from the applause (whether there is any or not) how much the audience appreciates you". Everybody jumps up at once before the speaker has got off the platform. Having been parents all along they don't have to be restored to their proper position.

In Canada the vote of thanks is very puzzling. You still have it, and it still has that eloquent paternal note that characterizes it in Britain. There is no doubt all the votes of thanks that have been tendered to me have been parental, elevated and lofty, but at the same time they have been kind.

Where the proper vote of thanks in England either doesn't talk about the speaker at all, but something else that the vote-of-thankser is interested in, or puts them firmly and irrevocably down.

I had a very nice vote of thanks in Montreal yesterday, in which a pun was made on my name, and I was given all the characteristics of that ancient and honourable drink, mead. It was done charmingly and at the end I was fit to drink.

Another point is to try to do something with the under-statement and over-statement position. About two weeks ago I was in Vancouver and was scanning the daily press for a useful future illustration. The good thing about anthropology is that you get it right, you can always get new illustrations right out of the morning paper.

I was to speak at the University of British Columbia that day. The auditorium was packed and there were people sort of hanging from the rafters. The sentence that I had got out of the press was: "Times are changing and mostly for the better. Today, to get even a score of people out to listen to a lecture one has to be a veritable human magnet".

I have no idea where the over-statement and where the under-statement is in that sentence. This is a problem that we face very often in dealing with Canadians' statements about themselves because they deal with their vastness in such a quiet tone of voice. The combination of the recognition of the size and importance and future of the country with appropriate modesty which will demonstrate that under no circumstances would a Canadian boast in the way that an American does—it seems difficult to define, especially under the present conditions of enormous progress in Canada. To treat the present Canadian progress in an appropriately dignified and modest and slightly pessimistic and a little skeptical tone of voice requires a great deal of skill which no one would say you don't have. But it is a little puzzling in the whole picture.

So anything that I say about the possibility of revising some of our images of each other must be put against the fact I have firmly said I don't think I really understand Canada very well. I don't even understand, for instance, where you stand in the great triology of the cult of "cope, fix, and put-up-with". The English leave everything as is and fix their characters. The Americans fix, leave their characters just the way they are and change things. The Australians put up with, leave both things the way they are and keep their temper. What the Canadians do in this I am not at all sure and it might be that somebody could add a fourth term or maybe have a romantic combination of the three, as yet unguessed at.

But the point I want to talk about seriously today is the images that we use about different countries. Everything one reads today about international affairs discusses over and over again the role of Canada, the varied important roles played by the Middle Powers . . . the place where Canada can do something that the United States can't or the United Kingdom can't or Australia can't, and we are all of us who pay any attention to international relations, very sensible of Canada's strategic position.

And the times when you can mention dollars—dollars are very bad when they are American—they are symbols of materialism, but a Canadian dollar isn't a symbol of materialism. It has more dignity, more decorum. There is a suggestion that the ethics connected with its acquisition are higher. So when it becomes valuable to talk about dollars, very often Canadian dollars are more appropriate and fortunately, we use the same word.

There are many, many situations in which the similarity between the United States and Canada and the differences can be skilfully played upon under appropriate circumstances. But the point I want to bring especially to your attention is that we are tending at present every time we want to talk about good international relations, we talk about family . . . the "Family of Nations" or "The Commonwealth Family", and the "United Nations Family" for the United Nations Organization. That is probably the worst of the lot as a set of symbols. We have tended to try to use the family whenever we want to say we are not going to fight. Sometimes you get "The Brotherhood of Man", too, but usually it is the family.

When one uses the family, one is invoking mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters, and as in the case of the United States, an uncle, which is not always understood. There are many countries abroad that don't understand the meaning of the government as your "Uncle". They get awfully confused.

This is again complicated by a tendency in history to treat countries as having sex which is really not very sensible. So we have France as Marianne, to be defended. We used to have Mother Russia—nobody speaks of the U.S.S.R. as "Mother" and if we say "America" for the United States, it is feminine. If we say the "United States" it is neuter.

Of course we do this with institutions, too—universities especially — and universities that did not admit women were all feminine. They had a sister relationship to each other. The sister relationship of two totally male universities is supposed to glorify something but I think it didn't.

Furthermore, images like the Mother Country, or the Fatherland or images that are drawn from brothers mean something very different in different countries, and if you really start thinking what it is like to discuss the position of a country, even in terms of brothers, you find great differences, you find in Britain the eldest brother has a properly arrogant position over all the others.

I was once told by an English girl that she didn't believe I was the eldest. She said, "You are not arrogantly enough secure". She didn't realize that in the United States the position of eldest is the most vulnerable and the worst. It is the youngest that is the most arrogantly secure. In the United States the eldest have to take their little brothers with them everywhere they go and the old image of the elder and younger brother means quite different things.

The image of a mother has to include a Middle East concept—every time a girl is born the whole country should weep, but Paradise lies at the mother's feet after you have wept, is again a confusing sort of image to us, internationally.

Furthermore, the most serious point about using the family image is that it includes the idea of age, relative strength and relative age and getting old and dying. This is, I think, one of the dangerous ideas that are afoot in the world today.

In one of the lectures you had last year there was a discussion about whether France was through, which is something that is, of course, often discussed in France.

What is the present position of England? Is she getting older and older or should she turn into Sweden? What that has got to do with age I never get quite clear. But in England one does get the discussion and people say, it is just time we became Sweden.

But it is the general notion that nations wax and wane like people and die instead of treating nations as groups of living people who continue to live and who might shift their contribution to the world, but who don't have to be treated first like a bumptious youngster, then like an adolescent. I think Canada has probably been an adolescent. The United States has been adolescent for so long we are not quite sure what has happened. Then you get mature, and then you get senescent. Then you are supposed to fall out of the picture.

These are the terms in which we are thinking today when we look at the behaviour of a great country like France. Is it going to go up or down? And we have a general feeling that once having gone up there is nowhere to go but down, which is true of human beings if you don't believe in Reincarnation, and it isn't a very good model.

Instead we could take as our model of where each country is going to be in the world and most usefully in the world, not from this universal biological phenomena of the family, which each country has played such a different tune on, but from that great historic contribution of the English-speaking world, the Committee, which is one of the most important inventions in the world today, and it was made in its present form in the British Isles, and think of each country as a committee member with a non-existent or rotating Chairman. In other words, each country in a sense would think of themselves as the Chairman, because they know their nationality is the ideal one for the Chairman and what could be done with the role of every other country, as if being the responsible Chairman of a Committee one said, Now this week I want Australia on the committee—they will be able to make that particular point. Next week one may want France or Turkey—each one contributing. The contributions would be made, not being brothers where you have to argue about who is older and who is younger and who can run faster, nobody being a father and nobody being a mother, and definitely nobody being a sister, and leaving out daughter countries, too . . . I think we could live without them . . . but by beginning to build up a picture that each country is a responsible member and can contribute to be a responsible member and a unique contributing member of an on-going group, of a committee which is operated for the good of the world.

If we look behind the Iron Curtain, not with the committee model but the Politbureau model, this is just what the Soviet Union does now with the different countries inside the Iron Curtain from a totalitarian point of view. When it suits their purposes an editorial comes out in a Chinese newspaper and is copied in Moscow. When it suits some other purpose they send a Chinese Minister to go and talk to the Poles. They have got so many countries inside their orbit that one powerful group plays games with these pawns. This, of course, is not the model we want for the Free World. We want instead a model of a group of countries, each of which has a unique and shifting role and sometimes you want one on the committee and sometimes you don't, and you sometimes want this combination and sometimes you want that combination, and in which we steadily consider, for instance, what the image of Canada, what the image of the United States will mean to other countries in a given situation. We ought to try to get rid of the particular tensions and contradictions and nonsense that goes with the image of a family, because actually, nobody wants to live public life in terms of the family. We have used the figure of speech just to mean love, although actually families are the scene of a good many other emotions besides love, and the contrast between the old and the young.

Take for example the picture of what the father means in France, who will maintain his leadership in the family over his grown sons until he dies, or what the father means in Germany, when the minute a man has a house of his own, the father shifts in his whole relationship to him, or what it means in the United States where the father is a pal from birth. I am not quite sure what father now means in Canada, but it must be somewhere in between these different points.

Now, if one invokes the father image or the brother image or the mother image in world affairs, one evokes along with the love for mothers, hatred for mothers, impatience with fathers, pictures of old gray-bearded people, pictures of young men teaching children to play baseball and doing the dishes—these are conflicting, non-communicating ideas. Instead we might build up in the mind of each country a picture of the ways in which they can contribute in a steadily on-going committee type of world.

It is a superficially unromantic, the word "committee'. It would be easier perhaps for us to think of quite different contributions we have made to the world. Yet we have made . . . and when I say "we" I am talking particularly of the English-speaking tradition—it is part of the tradition of the United States, and a major tradition in Canada—this notion of people who are temporarily appointed to work together in combinations that somebody hopes will work with a chairman who is there to permit them to work together, whose only job is to facilitate the task. This is a major social invention, unknown to most of the world, and being steadily propagated today through our various international agencies.

There are of course some problems even with a committee, because the English-speaking world wants a weak chairman on the whole, because they trust their age mates more. The Latin world wants a strong chairman to protect them from each other, so if you have a group of Latin people on a committee and a group of English-speaking people on a committee, you begin to have some problems to resolve.

But it is an image that would permit Canada or the United States or any other country to stop thinking of themselves as something that is waxing and is some day going to wane, because with the picture that one is now past adolescence and becoming mature, goes the image of old age some day. We are hopefully moving into a world in which we won't need to look at countries this way. We won't need to look at each country as rising to some kind of enormous military grandeur and then sinking into obscurity, but instead of a kind of world where we can have, if not a perpetuity at least a very long period of lively contribution, and this, I should think, would at the moment be something that might be congenial to Canadians to think about. Otherwise, as you are just on the crest of a wave, you are faced with the picture, is the wave going to get bigger and bigger, and what is going to happen?

If one uses the old waxing and waning and youth, adolescence and senescence picture, then of course the United States today is an old, old country, we find, although we don't know it. But other countries seem to think so.

And it would be possible that Canada might also form a picture of what you were going to be, which would include an eventual old age, instead of a continuing, steady contribution in the world. And as long as we think of other countries—I am purposely leaving the whole question of what is going to be done with the Soviet Bloc out of this discussion, obviously we can't fit them very comfortably into this picture, and obviously we are always in danger of taking too many cues from them as the other team—if the Free World could build a new notion of the contribution that each country could make, so that we all saw ourselves in a sense as the Chairman, juggling the points. . . . We have got to have a Canadian as the

Chairman of that Committee" . . . "We had better bring an Australian in here—the fact that they are away out there is going to disarm some people that are over here" . . . and in which each country was seen in all its special attributes. I believe Canada would then be seen as sharing on this continent with the United States, as one of the things that can be used positively or negatively, depending as having certain ties with Britain, but sometimes you can make a point so much more gracefully than the United States because Canada can be seen at present as a newly developing country, opening up new frontiers, having a different relationship to the world than old and crowded countries.

One would think also, of course, of the special characteristics of Canada, as one must of the United States, that is any other country who thinks about us has to think about whether or not we are solving our race question and how we are solving it because we stand always to the rest of the world as a country which will or will not succeed in solving our racial complexity.

You in Canada stand to the world as a country with two language groups and the question of how you solve your asymmetrical rivalries between two complementary groups, conceived as different, yet nevertheless similar, is again going to make all sorts of possible echoes around the world when we are dealing with other countries that have complexities of the same kind.

I sometimes wonder what you are going to do when in the future all Canadians speak several languages as you are going to have to do. Twenty-five years from now we ought to be able to teach any school child to learn any language in six weeks. Then we are going to have Chinese-speaking, Urdu-speaking, German-speaking, English-speaking Canadians. It is going to be complicated. The terms "English-speaking" and "French-speaking" have become part of the protocol of intercultural relations within Canada. When you add five other kinds of speaking to that it is going to be quite interesting.

If you can keep it that way and administer it, it will make other countries conscious of just where their particular problems fit in with Canada's particular problem.

Or, if one is going to take the fact of such enormous land and relatively smaller population, and with Britain with a big poulation and much less land and the United States, somewhere in the middle at any point one can play the population or the space, the old or the new, the expanding in one direction and being dreadfully conservative in another because when Canadians want to, you can play the role of conservers of the oldest things in the world, I believe quite gracefully, when that is necessary.

If all of these were added up in one's own mind as they are in the minds of a good Chairman who is sitting down, picking his committee, and of course never picking a committee where everybody will agree, but only picking a committee where they will keep on sitting and will somehow come to the next conclusion, this might be a more useful form of thinking about other nations than this old anthropomorphic system of treating the land as feminine and the army as its defenders, or of thinking of countries as either one's mother, or one's daughter, or one's step-children or one's mother-in-law, depending. It might throw new light on many of the problems that today we get confused about when we argue about such things as Colonialism or Imperialism or even the "Role of the Middle Powers".

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Royd Beamish.

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, April 25th 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: It is a pleasure for me to make my report to the Members of the Empire Club at this Annual General Meeting and to review briefly the events of the 1956-7 season which will come to an end next week with the concluding meeting on Monday, April 29th when our guest speaker will be the Hon. Leslie Frost, Q.C., Premier of Ontario.

The financial statement and auditor's report will be published in the Year Book but I can give you today the estimate of our position as prepared by Mr. W. W. Comber, C.A., Honorary Treasurer. Income to date amounted to $11,886.00 and estimated expenses are $12,154.00 leaving a deficit of $268.00. There was additional income of $150.00 from Life Membership Fees. Rising costs, particularly in connection with the publication of the Year Book, have forced your executive to consider once again the necessity of raising membership fees and I feel that it is my duty to forecast that sooner or later this move will have to be made.

The Budget and Finance Committee under the able chairmanship of Col. Montague has given earnest thought to our problems in this sphere. The arduous work of keeping records of income and expenditure and providing the executive with monthly reports on membership and monthly cash statements has been borne by Mr. Comber at the cost of great personal effort which deserves the heartfelt thanks and appreciation of the Club.

The interests of the membership have once again been safeguarded by the acceptance on a purely honorary basis of the task of Auditor by our distinguished friend Mr. H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Membership has increased by a net of 224 and to achieve this outstanding result a total of 449 new members have joined us. The devoted efforts of Mr. Harold Lawson, Chairman of the Membership Committee are responsible for these results. Total membership stands at 2,399.

Since our last Annual Meeting the Club has mourned the passing of two Past Presidents, Mr. F. J. Coombs and Dr. C. R. Sanderson. Their record is enshrined in the Year Books for 1918 and 1941-2, and in addition the invaluable index to speeches delivered in the first fifty years is a monument to the work of Dr. Sanderson.

The friendly welcome which awaits all who attend our meetings is a feature of every luncheon and for this we are indebted to the Chairman of our Reception Committee, Mr. Ford Ralph and the Vice-Chairman, Dr. Clarence Crummy.

To do honour to our guest speakers and provide them with a fitting supporting cast, Mr. Bruce Legge has assembled at each meeting a Head Table of very distinguished people such as you see here today. No small part of the success of our meetings has been the result of his efforts and I have been proud indeed to make the introductions.

The fine tradition of singing the National Anthem each Thursday has been continued thanks to the piano accompaniment of Mr. Frank McGillion.

Finally, the Speakers' Committee has worked hard to bring the finest array of speakers from far and near to address our meetings on a wide variety of topics. It is particularly gratifying that of the thirty meetings no less than seven have been addressed by visitors from Britain and one by the Ambassador of Ireland.

All these excellent speeches will appear in our Year Book which is already a unique collection of 53 volumes. The arduous task of preparing all this material for publication is in the capable hands of Mr. Z. S. Phimister and his committee. Their performance of last year in having the book in the hands of the membership in September was outstanding.

While I have mentioned several committee chairmen by name I wish to emphasize that the whole executive has done a fine job and every Committee has pulled its weight.

I have left until the last a special word of appreciation to Mr. Ernest Miles whose work as Secretary goes far beyond the narrow limits of that office. His enthusiasm and devotion to the interests of the Empire Club are invaluable.

The Special Notice contained in the card announcing our meeting next Monday deserves mention in this report because it is most unusual. The opportunity to co-operate with the Royal Empire Society Toronto Branch and the special arrangements by which our members may join the Society are most welcome. We wish success to General Sir Neil Ritchie the Chairman and Mr. Peter Wright, Q.C., the Honorary Secretary.

That concludes my report, Gentlemen, and I hope that I have succeeded in making it quite clear that the capable handling of all aspects of the Club activities has made my year as President a delightful sinecure. I have been proud to serve you and pledge my active support to my successors.

MR. INWOOD: As Chairman of the Nominating Committee, it is my pleasure to submit and recommend the following gentlemen as officers and executive members of The Empire Club of Canada for the 1957-58 season:—
President: Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D.

Col. Montague was born in the city of Hamilton, and at the tender age of 18, in 1915, he was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the 91st Regiment of the Canadian Highlanders (now the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada). He proceeded overseas, and was wounded in 1918 during the Arras to Cambrai push, but returned to the line in time to serve at Mons on the 11th of November, 1918.

Not having had enough of the 1st World War, he proceeded overseas again in our 2nd World War and served in the U.K. and Italy, where his decorations included:—

The E.D. in 1943.
Mentioned in despatches in Italy in 1944 and awarded the O.B.E. also in Italy, in 1945.

In 1954 he was appointed Hon. Lt. Col. of 5 Column R.C.A.S.C., Toronto. Col. Montague is presently the District Administrator of the Department of Veterans Affairs at Toronto.

He has been a very enthusiastic and hard-working member of the executive of the Empire Club. His personal contribution of time and effort to the conduct of the affairs of this club and his magnificent work, has won him the honour to serve as our President, and we are truly fortunate in having him accept this office.

First Vice-President: Bruce J. Legge

Second Vice-President: Harold R. Lawson

Third Vice-President: Alexander Stark, Q.C.

Secretary: Ernest Miles

Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.

Hon. Secretary: R. Ford Ralph

Assistant Secretary: Dr. Clarence B. Crummey

Hon. Treasurer: S. S. Fletcher

Assistant Treasurer: John W. Griffin

Hon. Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

Ian Baxter
Royd E. Beamish
Douglas Best
John L. Bonus
Cont. F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.
Dr. Harold V. Cranfield
Marvin Gelber
Allan F. Hiron
Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E., E.D.
H. R. Jackman
J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.
A. Langley
Frank B. McGillion

Howard S. Mark
Z. S. Phimister
Brig. W. S. Rutherford
R. Bredin Stapells

Immediate Past President: Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

Past Presidents: Arthur E. M. Inwood
James H. Joyce
Dr. C. C. Goldring

I nominate these gentlemen for the offices named.

THE CHAIRMAN: I instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot for the election of these gentlemen.

The Secretary has just handed me his ballot so I declare those nominated are elected as officers and members of the Executive Committee for 1957-58.

"THE UNIVERSITY—YESTERDAY, TODAY AND?"

An Address by

JOSEPH McCULLEY
Warden, Hart House, University of Toronto

Thursday, April 25th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. Donald H. Jupp.

MR. JUPP: The job of introducing our guest today has been made exceedingly difficult by the combined efforts of the Ford Motor Company of Canada and the C.B.C. Mr. Joseph McCulley is so well known as a TV personality that I am sure you feel you know him intimately. If so he has succeeded perfectly in the role he plays every Friday night in Graphic. Moreover, his career has been written up in such magazines as MacLeans and Saturday Night so that you probably know all the details. Born in Glasgow in 1900, the oldest of nine children of an Irish father and a Yorkshire mother he was brought to Canada in 1907 and received his early education in public and high school in St. Thomas, Ontario. After attending the Ontario College of Education he taught on the staff of Toronto Public Schools for three years before taking a degree in Honours Philosophy at University College in the University of Toronto. He was President of the University College Literary and Athletic Society in his final year. He then proceeded to Oxford University with a Massey Fellowship for two years at Christ Church where he got an M.A. in Modern History. His first year back in Canada 1926-7 he was Tutor-in-residence at South House, University College and then from 1927 to 1947 Headmaster of Pickering College for Boys at Newmarket. An interlude in the summer and autumn 1945 was an assignment as overseas civilian adviser of Khaki University. From 1947 to 1952 Mr. McCulley worked out of Ottawa as Deputy Commissioner of Penitentiaries in charge of education and rehabilitation. Meantime he served for ten years as Chairman of the Young Men's Committee of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. In 1952 he was appointed Warden of Hart House, the appointment he still holds, but continued his former interests from 1952 to 1956 as President of the Canadian Penal Association and from 1952 to 1956 as a member of the FAUTEUX Committee of the Department of Justice.

Today we are privileged to hear this distinguished pedagogue, Mr. Joseph McCulley, speaking on: "The University Yesterday, Today and ?".

MR. McCULLEY: Some four months ago members of this Club listened to an address entitled "Education and the Cold War" by Mr. James S. Duncan. He posed some very real challenges to all thinking Canadians. May I summarize what he said.

We in Canada are suffering from an acute shortage of scientists, engineers, teachers and other professional leaders. We cannot import them from other sources. We must produce our own. The overwhelming proportion of the monies required to finance the immediate and long-term expansion of our universities must still be raised from corporations and other sources which are the chief beneficiaries from the education given to our young people.

My remarks today must be considered more or less as a postscript to Mr. Duncan's masterly address,—the circulation of which has contributed so much to the current widespread debate on the subject of education.

We cannot stint on any phase of our Canadian educational program. The municipalities and the provinces must continue to struggle with the problem of new buildings, new facilities, an increased number of better qualified teachers for our elementary and secondary schools. No later than a week ago the Ontario government announced that it was increasing its grants to elementary school boards by $3.00 per pupil. The Provincial Treasurer and the

Minister of Education said, "This special grant is being provided in recognition of the abnormal needs and conditions which have arisen with respect to the provision of adequate teachers' salaries as well as the need for improvement in the elementary schools of Ontario. This is just an indication of the enormous requirements of this province in the field of education alone." Premier Frost said that this will bring the total grants for elementary pupils to $104,000,000.

In the final analysis, however, the future of our own country and, in fact, the whole future of our western world and what we rather glibly describe as "our way of life," is dependent on our universities.

In my lifetime and in the lifetime of many in his audience, we have come through two world wars and a global depression. The Empire which our grandparents knew exists no more. At the present moment there are two major polarities of power in two titan nations. What the future will hold we know not.

Mr. Duncan mentions specifically the problem of China which in a period of the next thirty to thirty-five years may well have a population of 1,000,000,000 people. The colonial peoples of Southeast Asia, Africa and, in fact, of the whole world, are in revolt. Business and industry are already faced with new and frightening problems. Automation will displace labour and we are already discussing the possibility of a thirty-hour week. The development of nuclear power presents untold and unimagined new problems, which cannot be ignored, which have incredible potential, either for good or ill for the human race. All these and other problems confront us. They cannot be solved by a slide rule. It is only out of all the schools of this and other countries that there will come the men and the women who can provide the knowledge, the vision, the imagination, the courage, to solve these problems. In the universities we are very conscious of this tremendous responsibility. The only question is whether we can rise to the demands which have been made upon us; whether we are capable of an adequate response to the terrific challenge of our times.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we should examine the idea of "the university" on which so much of our future, and perhaps our very survival, may depend.

In its very simplest terms a university is a corporation (generally consisting of a group of schools, faculties or colleges) for the conservation, dissemination and advancement of learning. The university developed in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries as a result of a great revival of learning,—not that revival of the 14th and 15th centuries to which the term is usually applied, but an earlier revival which historians now call the Renaissance of the 12th Century. Between 1100 and 1200 there came a great influx of new knowledge into western Europe, partly from Italy and Sicily but chiefly through the Arab scholars of Spain—the works of Aristotle, Euclid, Ptolemy and the Greek physicians,—a new arithmetic and those texts of Roman Law which had lain hidden through the Dark Ages. Universities were established at Salerno (Medicine), Bologna (Law), Paris (Theology). Following these early foundations other universities were formed by migrations of students (Oxford, Cambridge, Leipzig). The word "university" has no connection with the universe or the university of learning; it denotes only the totality of a group, whether of barbers, carpenters or students.

As a matter of historical fact the first universities were little more than guilds of students organized as a means of protection against the townspeople, for the price of rooms and necessaries rose rapidly with the crowd of new tenants and consumers, and the individual student was helpless against such profiteering. United, the students could bring the town to terms by the threat of departure in a body, secession, for the university, having no buildings, was free to move and there are many historic examples of such migrations. These early universities had no libraries, no laboratories, no museums, no endowments, no buildings, no board of governors, no student societies, except so far as the university itself was fundamentally a society of students. There was no college journalism, no dramatics, no athletics, none of those "outside activities" which are the chief excuse for inside inactivity in so many modern universities. And yet the fact remains that the university of the 20th century is the lineal descendant of mediaeval Paris and Bologna. The fundamental organization is the same, the historic continuity is unbroken. Over seven hundred years ago there was created the university tradition of the modern world, that common tradition which belongs to all our institutions of higher learning, which all college and university men should know and cherish.

It would be amusing, if time permitted, to discuss in some detail life in these early universities. As I have said, they were initially guilds of students and in some of the earliest statutes we read that the students made serious demands on their professors. These early professors lived wholly from the fees of their pupils and the threat of a collective boycott kept the professors very much in their place. In the earliest studies available (1317) we read that a professor might not be absent without leave; if he desired to leave town he had to make a deposit to insure his return; if he failed to secure an audience of five for a regular lecture he was fined as if absent; he must begin with the bell and quit within one minute after the next bell. He was not allowed to skip a chapter or postpone a difficulty.

But gradually this situation changed. Excluded from the "universities" of students, the professors also formed a guild or "college" requiring for admission thereto certain qualifications which were ascertained by examination. Ultimately the student came to seek the professor's licence as a certificate of attainment even though he might not plan to become a teacher himself. This certificate, this licence to teach, became the earliest form of academic degree and our higher degrees still preserve this tradition in the words "master' and "doctor," originally synonymous, and in the French word "licence." Growing out of these "colleges" there developed the basic form of standard academic degrees, of university organization, and university officials. Little by little the pattern crystallized and as early as the year 1200 the University of Paris received its first royal charter. Interestingly enough, this charter grew out of a town and gown row and in this early document King Philip Augustus recognized the exemption of the students and their servants from civic jurisdiction,—thus creating that special position of students before the courts which has not yet wholly disappeared from the world's practice, though generally from its law. The first Papal privilege was granted in the year 1231. This was occasioned by a two-year cessation of lectures growing out of a riot in which a band of students, having found "wine that was good and sweet to drink" beat up the tavern keeper and his friends. This document also recognized the right of the masters and students "to make constitutions and ordnances regulating the matter and time of lectures and disputations, the costume to be worn, the price of lodgings, and laid down rules regarding the carrying of arms and stated explicitly that student exemptions only applied to those who frequented the schools regularly,—the interpretation in practice being attendance of not less than two lectures a week!

There are preserved to us from the somewhat later Middle Age student letters, by far the largest element of which consist of requests for money, as for example this one: "B. to his venerable master A., greeting. This is to inform you that I am studying at Oxford with the greatest diligence, but the matter of money stands greatly in the way of my promotion, as it is now two months since I spent the last of what you sent me. The city is expensive and makes many demands; I have to rent lodgings, buy necessaries, and provide for many other things which I cannot now specify. Wherefore I respectfully beg your paternity that by the promptings of divine pity you may assist me, so that I may be able to complete what I have well begun. For you must know that without Ceres and Bacchus, Apollo grows cold." It would appear that students in the Middle Ages were beset by much the same problems as afflict the students of the 20th century and that in the intervening seven hundred years human nature has not changed much.

The basic point I wish to make is that even at this early date the university had acquired certain basic characteristics which have persisted ever since. "The university was devoted to inquiry. Furthermore, this has always been *free* inquiry. The university has always been independent. The education of the university student depends primarily on himself. He does not have to accept the views of his professors, nor do he or his professors have to conform to any social, religious or political creed. As Cardinal Newman pointed out, the primary object of a university is intellectual, not moral. Universities were founded as places where scholars and their students might develop or exercise their intellectual powers. It is universities and *only in universities* that this may be done on the highest level."

"A university is a community of scholars. It breathes the spirit of the social order; it is constantly engaged in an attempt to understand the meaning of the age. A university is fundamentally and primarily dedicated to the freedom of the human spirit, to the improvement and advancement of culture and the liberalizing of the human mind through the learning and the search for knowledge."

I wish that time permitted adequate discussion of the development of universities during the 18th and 19th centuries. Speaking of the ancient English foundations alone, it must be admitted that there were low spots. Some of the colleges were extremely wealthy and position and preferment under the aegis of the colleges was easily obtained by indifferent scholars whose chief claim to eminence was noble birth or high connection. But even during this period there were individuals who nobly maintained the very finest aspects of the university tradition. For example, you have the renowned Dean Aldrich of my own college at Oxford who, in addition to his theological eminence, had great gifts as an architect and designed what is still one of the finest classical quadrangles in all England. During the latter part of the 18th century the Wesleyan movement protested vigorously against the sloth and indifference that marked so much of the college life. In the 19th century Cardinal Newman offered further protest and wrote at that time his famous book, "Idea of a University," which is perhaps the finest single expression in the English language of the university idea. But to discuss all these things in detail would exhaust a whole series of lectures and I must trust the general awareness of my audience, merely reminding them that during dark days as well as bright, the basic idea of the university was never completely lost.

It is of particular interest to us in Canada to note that the American colonies emulated the educational pattern with which they were familiar in England. As in the land from which they had come, liberal education became a necessity primarily for the preparation of teachers and clerics and many of the early foundations in the colonies were either directly sponsored by or closely associated with religious groups. The "college" pattern so familiar at Oxford and Cambridge became the prototype of most of the early American institutions of higher learning. American colleges, too, had their depressed periods when they failed to contribute in full measure all that they might have done. But once again, the idea persisted and at no time did the concept of liberal higher education ever completely disappear.

The 19th century was a period of tremendous development and expansion in the southern half of this continent, unparalleled in the history of the world. It very early became apparent that if trained personnel and adequate leadership were to be found for such an expansion, it must come from institutions of higher education. Religious groups, state governments, municipal authorities, vied with each other in the foundation of institutions known variously as academies, colleges, universities. If, however, there is any quality which marks the American temperament it is the quality of pragmatism, and bit by bit there were added to the historical functions of the university, others which were much more immediately and closely related to the practical demands of the economic growth and development of the country. Some of the state institutions and indeed some of the private ones which were developed, focussed not so much around a core of the liberal arts and sciences but rather around the more practical subjects of engineering and agriculture. Here it must be observed that while the university may in some respects set the basic tone and the character for a developing culture, on the other hand it cannot escape reflecting the demands our society makes upon it. Traditionalists may deplore this trend but it is an inevitable trend. Education in any society will in some measure or in some form reflect the basic ideas and ideals of the society in which it operates. In fact, all education, all knowledge, which at some point or other does not become relevant to human need is barren, sterile, futile and useless.

It is an awareness of this type of expanded function of the university which led Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, to say, "The modern university does not exist to teach alone. It does not even exist to teach and to extend the boundaries of human knowledge alone. It exists also to serve the democracy of which it is a product and an ornament. The modern university must be conceived of as a public service institution. Its men, its books, its influence, its information, must always be at the service of the public when a good and unselfish end is to be served. The university rests on the public will and on public appreciation. To shut itself up, cloister-like, in its own sufficiency, or to turn all its energies and resources inward, are alike to be false to its own ideals and to waste its most valuable opportunities. Columbia University was never so effective a public servant as it is today. It not only holds aloft the lamp of learning, but it touches the practical life of New York and of the nation at a hundred points. So long as it pursues this course, Columbia will be worthy of its history and of its name."

Thus the American university became extraordinarily varied in its character, in its curriculum, in its organization. And Canadian universities, confronted with problems basically similar, have tended to follow a somewhat similar line of development. Without endeavouring to give an historical sketch of the development of all the Canadian universities, I can perhaps refer to what happened here in our own Province. King's College was founded by Bishop Strachan. It was closely associated with the Anglican Church and included religious tests. Other religious groups formed their own institutions at about the same time: Victoria, as a result of the labours of Egerton Ryerson and the Methodist Church,—Queen's University, as an expression of the strong belief of the Scot and his church in the importance of education,—St. Michael's

College, similarly on behalf of the Roman Catholic communion. During the middle of the century, however, a strong movement towards the democratization of education resulted in the secularization of King's College and its reestablishment in 1850 as the University of Toronto. Three years later University College was founded as the teaching unit of the University, open to all races, creeds and colours. (By its critics it was promptly dubbed "the godless college.") In the meantime the recalcitrant and fighting John Strachan had proceeded to found the University of Trinity College, in which his own particular ideals of higher education could be expressed in terms more suitable to himself. (It is of passing interest that John Strachan married a wealthy widow by the name of McGill and it is not at all impossible that the foundation of McGill University by James McGill, brother of his wife's first husband, can be in some degree attributed to the influence of Bishop Strachan.) The educational activity of the 19th century in this country was considerable, and violent, vigorous and vituperative were the debates which raged around this subject. You will perhaps recall that the cornerstone of University College was laid secretly and that the location of this stone is to this date unknown, though it has been most ardently sought.

But enough of past history. The picture in Canada has changed in much the same way as I have suggested it changed in the United States. Inevitably other subjects than the traditional liberal arts, sciences and humanities had to find some expression in higher education. The newer universities of this country have accepted this broader concept of the university from their very foundation. Here in Ontario an act of educational statesmanship took place which has few parallels on this continent. Colleges which at the time of their foundation had bitter differences were federated into the University of Toronto. Little by little other institutions, initially independent (as for instance our own Faculty of Engineering which was originally known as the School of Practical Science), were added to the federation. The Faculty of Dentistry was originally the Royal College of Dental Surgeons, equally independent in its origin. It is only in recent years that the College of Pharmacy has been accepted into the federation. Queen's University, in a rather different way, paralleled this development with the creation of the modern faculties. And today McMaster University, originally a Baptist institution, is finding ways and means of extending its program beyond the pattern visualized by the late Senator McMaster when he founded the institution.

Therefore, whether one likes it or not, the modern university, built in most cases around a college, colleges or a faculty of liberal arts and humanities, finds itself offering higher education in a bewildering variety, consonant with the extremely bewildering complexity of our modern life. The obligation thus to serve our community, our day and generation, is patently laid on our universities and we can deny this obligation not only at the peril of the institutions themselves but at incalculable loss to our whole society.

These are the facts of life as far as higher education in Canada is concerned. It is an awareness, conscious or unconscious, of these matters which is at the root of all our present discussion on the subject of higher education. It is these facts which have moved our governments to take positive steps to provide for a greater number of trained men and women in all fields of human endeavour to give adequate leadership to our country in this latter half of this 20th Century. In the title of my address I have indicated some uncertainty about the future of the university idea. I am ready to admit that there is still uncertainty about it but I must also assert that I have no lack of faith.

I have suggested in general terms something of the enormity of the problem which today is facing our universities. This has been presented in greater detail than I can possibly do today in the submission made by the Province of Ontario to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects. (I recommend this study to you.) May I, however, point out that the approximate full time undergraduate and postgraduate enrolment in Ontario's universities and colleges in 1955 was about 21,700. By 1965 this will have increased to some 45,300 and by 1975 to an estimated figure of 92,600. The annual operating cost for a university population of the size indicated will jump from a figure of some $23,500,000 in 1954 to $54,300,000 in 1965 and $111,100,000 by 1975. In the meantime capital requirements in the ten years between 1955 and 1965 for all the universities and colleges in Ontario will amount to somewhere between $75,000,000 and $100,000,000. These figures are staggering but they are not beyond our resources. Mr. S. H. Deeks, Executive Director of the Industrial Foundation on Education, has recently pointed out that even today we spend twice as much on recreation as we do on education—that we spend nearly four times as much on smoking and drinking as we do on education. In other words, it would seem reasonable to assume that the money can be found! The big problem, therefore, is whether we as a nation have the will to do what is required of us. If we of the free world are not prepared to accept the responsibilities which are laid upon us at this time we are derelict in our responsibility to our own generation and traitors to those who follow us. As I have tried to indicate, the idea of the university has persisted in our society for over seven hundred years. It has undoubtedly been largely responsible for what we are and similarly it can largely create the good future towards which we are looking forward.

As everyone in this room is well aware, the University of Toronto (to speak only of that with which you and I are most familiar) is making bold and imaginative plans for its own future. Steps have been taken to obtain further space and every responsible officer is at present engrossed in planning. But the realization of all these plans depends on the enthusiastic, unqualified and continued support of individuals, of business, of government. Our society is becoming more and more complex; the larger proportionately, therefore, is the number of highly trained persons needed for its proper functioning. I can do no better in concluding my remarks today than to quote the closing paragraph of the Annual Report for 1955-56 presented by Dr. Smith, President of the University of Toronto.

"Ignorance matters more, now that science has given to human beings astonishing powers to use or misuse. Prejudice is more than a personal idiosyncrasy, now that it can bring untold and unwanted horrors to this newly, narrowly, and dangerously nationalistic world. Apathy—neither knowing nor caring—reduces mankind to an animal existence. In this war the lines of battle are not clearly drawn; ignorance, prejudice and apathy are in our midst. Our weapons are ideas which are invincible if only they be forged and tempered to their potential strength.

" 'The gulf that used to exist between knowledge and action,' Lord Halifax said recently, speaking as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 'is narrowed almost to vanishing point; and their closer contact between themselves and the world of action has created a wholly new set of problems for the universities.' Universities must reflect that closer contact in the training of experts for the world of action; at the same time they must be, in the words of the Governor General of Canada, not so much a mirror as a beacon, guiding the world of action to the right ends of action, the essential values of human life."

"We are all blind until we see
That in the human plan
Nothing is worth the making
If it does not make the man;
Why build these cities glorious
If man, unbuilded goes?
In vain we build the work
Unless the builder also grows."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, Vice-President of the Club.

"ONTARIO'S ECONOMICAL PROSPECTS IN 1957"

An Address by

HON. LESLIE M. FROST, Q.C., LL.D., D.C.L.
Prime Minister of Ontario

A Joint Meeting with The Canadian Club of Toronto

Monday, April 29th, 1957

CHAIRMAN: Brig. W. Preston Gilbride.

BRIG. GILBRIDE: Many people go to the city to become successful enough that they can move back into the country. However, Premier Frost has achieved the ideal solution—he has become successful in the city while continuing to live in the country. There is no doubt that his home-town of Lindsay is as fine a community, and as typically Ontario, as any place that one could mention.

Premier Frost grew up in Orillia, was a Company Commander in the First War, was wounded and spent seventeen months in the old Christie Street Hospital, Mr. Frost and his brother, who was also a Captain in the Army, then attended Osgoode Hall and in 1921 established their law firm in Lindsay.

Mr. Frost was first elected to the Legislature twenty years ago, became a Cabinet Minister in 1943 and will have been Prime Minister for eight years next Saturday. One of the great men in Canadian public life, and one of the great leaders of this Province, Mr. Frost has been honoured by some six universities. He likes to fish and curl when he gets the chance and particularly likes to relax at his one hundred and twenty-five year old log cabin on the shore of Sturgeon Lake.

The Honourable Leslie M. Frost, Q.C., LL.D., D.C.L.

MR. FROST: Even the most cautious observer cannot fail to be impressed by the vast changes taking place in our Province. I propose to tell you something of the challenges, the opportunities and the burdens which very clearly concern us.

Population growth and industrial expansion are transforming the Ontario scene. The expansion of population is unprecedented. Since 1946 a million and a half people have been added to our population—an increase of one-third. In less than a decade we have added to our population a number greater than the present population of the whole of British Columbia, or any other Canadian province, with the exception of Quebec. To visualize our population increase closer to home: it amounts to more than the total population of Metropolitan Toronto. The increase this year—expected to approach 200,000—may break all records, being nearly 50,000 more than the average increase of the preceding ten years. A rapidly growing market is being created that provides a powerful incentive to the expansion of domestic industry and a compelling attraction to industry abroad.

Turning to industrial expansion, we have had a huge volume of investment in productive capacity as well as in public capital asset such as schools—elementary to university — hospitals, highways and the like. In this period total private and public capital investment in Ontario has been about $18 billion. Between 20 and 25 per cent of our provincial product has been re-invested in the strengthening of our capital structure. In some lines, the production of goods and services today is two or three times as great as ten years ago. With all of this, our economy has been greatly diversified and strengthened.

The problems of growth are very great. There are insatiable demands for schools, hospitals, water and sewage works, highways and a host of other things without which population cannot grow, nor industry flourish; nor indeed without them could we achieve the increase in living standards which our development should provide.

The Confederation document was a very wise one. The Fathers of Confederation entrusted to the provinces the services I have mentioned because they have the intimate knowledge of local conditions which is necessary to administer them. That is true today. The municipalities can carry out some services more thoroughly and economically than the Province. Similarly, the Province can perform some services better than the Federal Government. There was no mistake when these divisions of authority between the Provincial and Federal governments were made. Of course, financial adjustments are required from time to time. These can be satisfactorily achieved by the Canadian way of co-operation and understanding.

I shall not enumerate the reasons—geography, resources, etc.—which assure our continued development. Rather, I shall talk to you about some of the things we have to do in order that this development will not be retarded—in order that we can continue to better the way of life of our people. Our general objective should be devoted to strengthening Ontario's economy. By doing that we can best help Canada. It is our job to create an atmosphere conducive to the expansion of individual enterprise, the betterment of living standards and the re-inforcement of individual freedom, rights and privileges. What we are doing to meet this, and what is projected into the future is without any parallel in our history. But there are problems as well as opportunities. I shall deal briefly with just a few of them.

Firstly, concerning power—As you are aware Ontario's industrial development has been promised on an immense publicly-owned power grid which, if it had not been envisaged fifty years ago, would have left this Province vastly different from what it is today. At a cost of about $1.5 billion in the last decade we have made immense additions to our power resources. Three years from now the Commission's own generating capacity will amount to about 8 million horsepower or six times as great as it was at the beginning of World War II. This Province is power hungry. The projected requirements suggest a total of 22 million horsepower by 1975—nearly four times existing requirements. This will necessitate the continued investment of an average of about $175 million a year (a total of $3 billion over the next twenty years). With the completion of the St. Lawrence power project, however, we will have about reached the end of our economic water power resources. Accordingly, we have to get power elsewhere. Fortunately, there are at hand two great sources of power that were not in the picture five years ago—natural gas from the west and uranium.

Fuel for thermal power in other days would have to come from outside the country. Natural gas offered the first great opportunity to us. In 1951, we took the position that the pipeline tapping the massive quantities of natural gas in Western Canada should be on Canadian soil. We have given tangible support to this objective by providing, in partnership with the Federal Government, temporary financial support with respect to the Northern Ontario portion of the line. Half a dozen years ago, nobody anticipated that the hills of Algoma and Haliburton would be providing sources of electrical energy. Experiments—in which Hydro and the Ontario Government are participating—are being carried out in the practical utilization of atomic energy. The basic source of this energy-uranium—if found in this Province in quantities unrivalled anywhere in the world. In other words, new sources of thermal power will come from within our own Province. This changes the outlook very fundamentally. It appears that by 1975 water power may only contribute about one-third of our then power requirements.

Secondly, education. I have often referred to education as Ontario's greatest problem. This has a most direct and vital bearing on the development of our human resources.

From the early days of this Province we have built up a school population of 1,100,000 in the primary and secondary grades along with the physical equipment and teachers. This school enrolment will double in the next fifteen to twenty years. To cope with this increase is a great challenge. I warn you that the task will strain our resources to the utmost. It virtually means the doubling of the present school accommodation and the present staff in that period of time.

Our present university enrolment of about 22,000 is expected to double in the next ten years and quadruple in the next twenty years when we shall have between 80,000 and 90,000 students. The universities, and necessarily ourselves, are therefore, confronted with another tremendous problem.

In the last ten years the Province—from Provincial revenue alone—has invested in education about $3/4 billion. This year the Province's expenditure will be about $143 million to which can be added municipal expenditures of practically the same amount. The total of these is now about $300 million, and this is by no means the end of increases in expenditure for education. We must anticipate that annual costs will rise over the next twenty years. Certainly if we are going to meet the positive requirements of our Province and our Country in this age when brains and grey matter and the development of intellectual equipment will be the measure of our success, we will need to give this problem close attention.

Thirdly, another great problem is that of transportation. Our developmental problems do not come singly. With the reduction in capital spending during the war years, motor traffic out-stripped construction. The backlog created is one of our difficulties today. Added to this is the increase of motor vehicles,—nearly trebled since 1945. The increase of registrations in that period is far greater than population growth. Our population has increased over the last ten years at something over 3 per cent yearly, while the increase in motor vehicle registrations has been over 9 per cent per annum. There is now a passenger vehicle for less than every four of our people, a ratio that is about the same as New York State. Then we are very glad each year to welcome about 6 million motor vehicles bearing visitors from other provinces and countries. Added to this again is the fact that people are driving more. Each motor vehicle is being driven annually about 27 per cent more miles than ten years ago. In the last decade, provincially and municipally we have spent about $1½ billion. In the next twenty years, the job would appear to involve an expenditure of at least $3 billion, of which the backlog alone, accumulated in war and depression, amounts to $700 million. This in itself is a tremendous program.

Fourthly, we have water and sewage, an important facet of the problem of conservation. Unprecedented population growth and industrial expansion have heightened the demand for water and sewage facilities. Industry and development cannot thrive and prosper without an abundance of fresh water and adequate sewage treatment. This is the purpose of the establishment of the Ontario Water Resources Commission, which is something new in public administration in this country, or indeed in America. It enables us to look at water and sewage projects on a regional basis. We, who are located on the eastern side of the North American Continent, are very fortunate in having our Great Lakes System and the many other lakes, rivers and streams. It has, however, become increasingly apparent to us, as our development proceeds, that we must take steps now to assess and safeguard this immensely important resource. It is estimated that over the next twenty years expenditures of nearly $2½ billion will be required to meet our needs for sewage and water facilities.

The following short table sums up the above capital expenditures for the next twenty years. Please remember they do not include many other essential works.

AN ESTIMATE OF PRINCIPAL PUBLIC CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN ONTARIO IN THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS.

	$ Million
Ontario Hydro	$3,000
Highways	3,000
Schools	1,200
Universities	275
Water and sewage Works	2,400
Hospitals, other Public Buildings and Conservation Works	1,250
Total	11,125

There are many other matters to which I could refer, all of them important. I have selected these obvious services to give you an indication of our problems. They present, of course, an immense challenge. They may appear to be staggering. They do, however, spell employment, work and wages, unlimited opportunity for the individual and incomparably higher standards of living.

As sensible people we must face up to the situation. There is no need to waste time in appraising what has to be done and what are going to be the tremendous tasks of the Province and the municipalities. That has already been done. Read the submissions to and the reports of the Gordon Commission. They are available to everyone. The question is how are we going to do it. You will ask me here today where will the money come from.

The money, of course, has to come from taxes. They should be progressive taxes which are directly related to the works we are creating. These works and developments produce employments, wages and industrial expansion of general benefit to our people. It is from progressive taxes, geared to these works, that the revenues should come. I can assure you that I have not been unco-operative with other governments. I think you will agree that that is not my record. I have been telling you the truth when I said that the solution to this problem, provincially and municipally, lies in a realistic division of tax sources in the direct tax field. Remember, the Fathers of Confederation were pretty wise. The direct taxes, such as personal income tax, corporation tax and succession duties, belong equally to the provinces and to the Federal Government. The Federal Government in addition has exclusive use of indirect taxes, such as sales tax at the manufacturers' or wholesalers' level, and excise and other taxes. The best way to drive the provinces, the municipalities and their people into an untenable position is not to recognize this vital fact and to force them into supporting expansion such as I have outlined from regressive types of taxation, which are not geared to expansion and prosperity. That is the way to drive up municipal taxes and to make it impossible for our people to own their homes—and home ownership is one of the main foundations of happiness.

Some of you may have thought that I have been talking pretty big money. I have said that this Province needs about $100 million from these direct taxes more than the present Federal-Provincial arrangements provide. Having regard to what I have said, you will, I am confident, consider this to be modest. You may well ask how the job can be done on just an additional $100 million.

The tax arrangements effective last April 1st will provide our Province with about $40 million more annually than did the previous arrangements. This is only sufficient to pay a portion of the increase cost of education, to say nothing of our other requirements. When I say that it is unrealistic and grossly inadequate I mean just that. Surely a division of 10 cents of the income tax dollar to the provinces and 90 cents to the Federal Government is not reasonable. The Province is now handing to the municipalities practially every cent derived from personal income and corporation taxes and succession duties and still municipal and education costs are rising and so are the taxes on real estate. This gives you some idea of the inadequacy of the present tax division.

In a moment of irritation I said that our Federal-Provincial system was a crazy patchwork. Perhaps you will not think that that was too strong. Can we view with equanimity increasing municipal and provincial debt on one hand and a $500 million Federal surplus on the other, and with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island going in the hole? Tax fields which would run about half of the Federal surplus, say about $300 million, would make for orderly development on the part of the provinces and the municipalities. Our population is about one-third of the Canadian total, and as I have said about $100 million annually over the present adjustment is our requirement.

May I say to you gentlemen of the Empire and Canadian Clubs as businessmen, that the provincial-municipal position deserves your consideration. Some of my good friends here have been complaining to me in these last few days about added taxes because we have had to raise a number of them this year. Some of you have had long faces and said it was unfair. Of course, it is unfair to our people, particularly when you know that what has happened this year cannot be the end of it. Is there a common-sense remedy? The answer is, yes. With a realistic, common-sense solution such as I have suggested—a practicable enlargement of the province's tax fields—a decent workmanlike job can be done in the very prosperity that will be created new revenues will become available to all governments. That solution appeals to me as being reasonable and based on common sense.

In speaking to you on Ontario in 1957 and describing our challenges, our opportunities and our problems, I do so in a spirit of confidence. One of the great attributes of the people of our Province and of Canada is common sense. I believe we can do the job ahead, and I am sure we shall not fail. On the other hand, remember that your Province and your country deserve your very best thought and consideration. I know that all of you are prepared to give service in some capacity or other. One of the crying needs of our country is for men and women with the education, the intellectual development and the know-how to do the job that needs to be done.

It has been a very great pleasure to come here and address the concluding meeting of your clubs.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Donald H. Jupp, President of the Club.

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

30th April, 1957.

The President and Members of the Executive Committee,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,

We have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, and have prepared and attach a Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 30th April, 1957.

We report thereon as follows:—

Membership Fees:

We are satisfied that, in total, all 1956-57 fees receivable from Members on record as in good standing as at 30th April, 1957 have been accounted for.

The Life Membership Fees received during the fiscal year 1957, amounting to $150.00, were invested during the year in Government Bonds as required by the Agreement reached at a meeting of the Officers and Committee Members of the Executive held on 15th April, 1953.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:—

	Resident	*Non-Resident*	*Honorary and Life*	*Total*
Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1956	2,062	95	26	2,183
Net Increase or (Decrease)	215	—	3	218
	2,277	95	29	2,401

The Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1957 contained 2,401 members as above.

Payments:

All payments made during the year were authorized by the Executive Committee.

Liabilities:

Lt.-Col. W. H. Montague, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, has certified that there were no outstanding accounts as at 30th April, 1957.

Fidelity Bond:

Mr. W. W. Comber, the Treasurer, is bonded for $1,000.00.

Insurance:

Office furniture is covered by a fire insurance policy in the amount of $725.00.

Acknowledgment:

We express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance extended to us by the Treasurer during the course of our audit.

Reported by,

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1957

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1956				$2,368.41
Current Receipts:				
Membership Fees		$11,718.00		
Proceeds from Sale of Year Book		13.25		
Interest:				
On Investments	$ 95.00			
On Bank Balance	83.82	178.82	$11,910.07	
Current Payments:				
Luncheon Expenses net of proceeds of sale of tickets		$ 1,293.47		
Honoraria:				
Secretary	$800.00			
Treasurer	300.00	1,100.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		239.11		
Printing, Stationery and Postage		4,227.78		
Printing 1955-1956 Year Book		4,454.89		
Recording and Publicity		221.50		
Speakers' Fees and Expenses		595.75		
Telephone and Telegraph		139.78	12,272.28	
Excess of Current Payments over Current Receipts				362.21
				$2,006.20
Life Membership Fees Received				150.00
				$2,156.20
Investment of Surplus Funds and Life Membership Fees:				
Purchase of $200.00 Par Value Dominion of Canada 3% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1956				181.00
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1957				$1,975.20

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1957 and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1957.

In addition to the Cash Balance of $1,975.20 the Club held at 30th April, 1957, $3,400.00 Par Value Dominion of Canada 3% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1966.

At 30th April, 1957 the Club was committed to publish the 1956-57 Year Book at an estimated cost of $4,400.00.

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
29th July, 1957.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1957-1958

Honorary President: Field Marshal The Right Honourable Earl Alexander of Tunis

Officers:

President: Lt. Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E., E.D.
First Vice-President: Bruce J. Legge
Second Vice-President: Harold R. Lawson
Third Vice-President: Alexander Stark, Q.C.
Secretary: Ernest Miles
Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.
Hon. Secretary: R. Ford Ralph
Asst. Secretary: Dr. Clarence B. Crummey
Hon. Treasurer: S. S. Fletcher
Asst. Treasurer: John W. Griffin
Hon. Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee

Ian Baxter
Royd E. Beamish
Douglas Best
John L. Bonus
Controller F. Joseph Cornish, Q.C.
Dr. Harold V. Cranfield
Marvin Gelber
Allan F. Hiron
Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E., E.D.
H. R. Jackman
J. Palmer Kent, Q.C.
A. J. Langley
Frank B. McGillion
Howard S. Mark
Z. S. Phimister
Brig. W. S. Rutherford, E.D.
R. Bredin Stapells

Immediate Past President

Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.

Past Presidents

Arthur E. M. Inwood
James H. Joyce
Dr. C. C. Goldring

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident and Associate members shall pay an annual fee of $5.00 and Non-Resident members $3.00, payable on or

before the first day of October in each year. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $75.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; an Honorary Treasurer, or a Treasurer, or both; an Honorary Secretary or a Secretary, or both; an Executive Committee which shall consist of the officers appointed under this Article and 17 other members, who, with the officers, shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. There may also be elected an Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. Three Past Presidents together with the immediate Past President shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The Officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office until April 30th, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Executive Committee and four other members (this Committee shall select its own Chairman) shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such regular or special meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of the officers and members of the Executive Committee necessary under the

Constitution, the President shall instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the President to have been duly elected.

(3) An Auditor or Honorary Auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

- (a) Budget and Finance Committee.
- (b) Speakers' Committee.
- (c) Membership Committee.
- (d) Constitution Committee.
- (e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
- (f) Publicity Committee.
- (g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERSHIP

as at April 30, 1957

LIFE MEMBERS

Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert
Clouse, F. L.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Cosens, Gordon G.
Eaton, Donald L. H.
Gibson, D. H., C.B.E.
Gordon, Crawford Jr.
Hough, Thomas Edward
Johnston, Wm. D.
MacKendrick, Col. W.G., D.S.O.
MacNames, Nelson L.
Maher, James P.
Murdoch, J. Y., Q.C., LL.D.
Ridley, John B.
Roman, Stephen B.
Rosen, Allen E.
Sandy, J.
Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, R. A.
Suchorab, S. A.
Thomson, Garth O.
Thomson, K. R.
Tindall, H. B.
Wilson, Col. J. E.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Field Marshall The Rt. Hon. Earl Alexander of Tunis
Cust, Col. Archer, C.B.E.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Gillespie, Lt.-Col. George H.
Stapells, H. G., Q.C., M.A.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Alexander, R. W.
Bailey, B. W.
Ball, B. W.
Barber, John R.
Bateson, Dr. Sydney
Beatty, Dr. S. R.
Beaumont, Arthur
Begley, Geo. E.
Bennett, J. H.
Bonnett, Albert A.
Bradley, Bruce H.
Bradley, E.
Butler, N. E.
Campbell, C. B.
Carleton, Dr. H. G.
Coppin, T. H.
Cornell, Charles R.
Cranstoun, John A.
Davey, J. H.
Davidson, George MacK.
Davis, Cyril A.
Drew, Hon. Geo. A., P.C., Q.C., M.P.
Dunlop, J. Gordon
Dutton, B. A.
Fullerton, James John
Gilbert, C. A.
Grant, J. W.
Groom, R. G., Q.C.
Halbus, Prof. Frank
Hannon, Dr. J. W. G.
Harton, E. Douglas
Hill, Percy C.
Howsam, Air Vice Marshal, G. R., C.B., M.C.
Hughes, Gordon R.
Hunter, Lt.-Col. F. Fraser
Hutcheson, Frank W.
Hyde, F. C. W.
Jackson, George B.
Johnston, R. C.
Kennedy, A. P.

Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Kimpton, J. R.
Koehn, Wm. F.
Leather, Harold H.
Legge, Rev. Garth
Leyden, C.
Lindsay, W. W.
Line, Reginald H.
MacKellar, J. F.
MacLennan, H. Alexander
Manbert, Ray R.
Marshall, Dr. M. R.
Massey, Denton
Mathews, C. K.
Maxwell, Rev. Gordon S., B.A.
McCrae, W. H.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
Mercer, Douglas A.
Mitchell, Robert N.
Moffat, John A.
Moller, George
Monsarrat, Nicholas
Morgan, James C.
Morrison, D. M.
Mulligan, Rev. William Orr
Murison, R. A. J.
Nelson, Dr. Claude A.
Newman, J. M., M.P.P.
Nixon, Stanley E.
Oakie, Alfred U.
Opie, R. P.
Ostrom, W. R.
Over, Spencer Henry, C.A.
Parsons, T. J.
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Hay, Frank
Hayden, Hon. Salter A., Q.C.
Hayes, Barry B.
Hayes, B. P.
Hayes, John D.
Hayman, J. L.
Hayter, E. W.
Hayward, A. P.
Hayward, Chester G.
Heal, R. F.
Heal, W. E.
Hearn, Dr. Richard
Heath, L. B.
Hedley, Evon
Hellyer, Paul
Henderson, D. C.
Henderson, Douglas J.
Henderson, Herbert A.
Henderson, J. C.
Henderson, W. G.
Henry, Charles J., M.P.
Henry, E. F. L.
Henry, Hon. G. S.
Henson, R.C.C.
Henty, Sterndale
Hermant, Percy
Hermant, Sydney
Heron, Matthew W.
Herrmeyer, C. F.
Hershaw, Lt. Col. Ogden
Hetherington, John
Hetherington, John A., D.C., N.D.
Hewett, F.V.C.
Hewson, E. G.
Heywood, Peter M.
Hickey, Winston E.
Hicks-Lyne, Col. R. T. E.
Higgin, Edwin S.
Higgins, Jack P.
Highmoor, C. K.
Hilborn, Melvin, C.A.
Hilborn, Robert H.
Hill, F. W. J.
Hill, John D.
Hill, J. V.
Hill, Rev. R.
Hill, Roy C.
Hill, Wm. S.
Hillier, Ralph C.
Hillmer, R. W.
Hines, W. James
Hinton, Geoffrey T.
Hipp, C. E.
Hiron, Allan F.
Hirst, Josh

Hobson, A.
Hobson, W. J.
Hodgins, Albert
Hodgson, Alfred J.
Hodgson, Lorne
Hodson, J. R.
Hogg, Lt.-Col. N. D., M.B.E., E.D.
Holden, Dr. Otto
Holditch, Ross O.
Holford, Wm. D.
Holland, Graham H.
Holmes, Hartley R
Holmes, M. W.
Holmes, Noel
Hooker, Edwin R. K.
Hopkins, Howard
Hopkins, Percy E.
Hotrum, Frederick
Houghton, P. J.
Houghton, W. R.
Howard, A. L.
Howard, Benson C.
Howard, Clifford H.
Howe, H. J.
Howey, Major Charles B.
Howland, Wm. G. C.
Howse, Rev. E., S.T.M., PH.D., D.D.
Howse, Thomas H.
Howting, George W.
Hudgins, V. J.
Huffman, George E.
Huffman, Karl
Huggett, Jack
Hughes, F. N.
Hughes, H. E.
Hughes, J. Edward
Hughes, John A.
Hugill, Albert E.
Hugill, W. M.
Hull, Robert J.
Hull, Rodney
Hultay, William
Hulton, William S., C.A.
Hummel, William M.
Humphrey, Charles S.
Humphrey, John B.
Humphreys, W. Eason
Humphries, W. R. B.
Humphris, John
Hungerford, J. G.
Hunnisett, E. A.
Hunt, A. T.
Hunt, John F.
Hunt, W. E. Harvey
Hunter, B. B.
Hunter B. Pepall
Hunter, E. Norval
Hunter, H. T.
Hunter, Howard W.
Hunter, K. M., C.A.
Hunter, Rev. L. I.
Hunter, W. D.
Huston, J. A.
Hutchinson, J. D. H.
Hutton, Douglas F.
Hutton, T. E.
Hyland, Nelson A.
Hynes, G. E.

Iliffe-Dean, Charles, B.A.
Ingham, W. T.
Innes, J. S.
Inwood, Arthur E. M.
Irving, J. D.
Irving, Thomas G.
Irwin, O. Ross
Isaac, G. E.

Jackman, H. R., Q.C.
Jackson, E. S.
Jackson, Fred C.
Jackson, George H.
Jackson, George R.
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Jackson, James A.
Jackson, L. G.
Jackson, Paul H.
Jacob, E. R.
Jacques, Rev. Canon E.
Jaffray, P.
James, Colin L.
James, T. B.
Jamieson, H. T., F.C.A.
Jamieson, J. K.
Jamieson, John D.
Jamieson, J. M.
Jarvis, Albert
Jarvis, C. B.

Jeffers, Wellington J.
Jeffery, John E.
Jeffery, W. H.
Jeffrey, J. W.
Jelly, C. S.
Jennett, Lorne B.
Jenney, H. B.
Jennings, M. R.
Jennings, W. A.
Jennison, George Leslie
Jephcott, Dr. C. M.
Jephcott, Gerald, F.C.A.
Jewell, D. B.
Jewell, Milton H.
Johnson, Rev. Albert
Johnson, Orm S.
Johnston, Lt.-Col. Baptist, O.B.E., V.D.
Johnston, Erskine B.
Johnston, G. F.
Johnston, L. E.
Johnston, Lorne
Jolliffe, Lt.-Col. W. H.
Jolly, H. M.
Jones, E. L.
Jones, Frank
Jones, Oakah L.
Jones, Terence L.
Joyce, James H.
Joyce, Wallace R.
Judd, John Patrick
Jupp, Donald H., O.B.E.

Kasman, Philip
Kay, Daniel C., Jr.
Kay, W. R.
Kaye, Alex. B.
Kaye, J. N.
Keefer, Major T. C.
Keeler, L. A.
Keenan, J. S.
Keller, Patrick E.
Kelley, William A. G.
Kellow, Ralph S.
Kelly, J. N.
Kelly, M. J.
Kelly, W. D.
Kelson, Harry L.
Kemp, T. Y.
Kench, C. A.
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Kenney, Telford Vanburgh
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Kerr, J. L.
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Kerr, L. W.
Kerr, P. Gordon J.
Kerr, Robert R.
Kerr, William
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Keys, Norman A., Q.C.
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Kimber, J. R.
Kindersley, C. M.
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King, T. A.
Kinghorn, A. A.
Kingsbury, E. D.
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Kinloch, Donald A.
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Kitchen, C. E.
Kitchen, Dr. Irving D.
Klein, Dr. R. H.
Koerber, Walter F., B.A., D.PAED.
Koerner, Michael M.
Koropp, John
Kregten, H. M.

LaBine, Gilbert
LaBine, Joseph S.
La Ferle, Charles
Laffey, James V.
Laidley, Kenneth R.
Laing, G. Blair
Lambert, A. T.
Laming, Hugh S.
Lamport, Allan A.
Lancaster, A. G.
Land, Gordon W.

Lane, F. E.
Lang, R. J.
Lang, Lt. W. H.
Langer, Henry P.
Langley, Arthur James
Large, Peter K.
Larry, Leo J.
Lascelles, G. A.
Laski, Dr. Bernard, M.D., F.R.C.P.
Latimer, H. B.
Laughlen, G. A.
Laughlin, J. E.
Laurence, E. H.
Laurin, C. J.
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Lawrence, Allan F.
Lawrie, Donald L.
Lawson, D. G.
Lawson, Frank G.
Lawson, H. R.
Lawson, L. W.
Lawson, Ralph L.
Laxton, Edward
Lay, Harry M.
Leake, G. Ray
Leake, Ray
Lebrocq, S. E.
Leckey, R. G.
Leckey, Robert H.
Leeming, H. D.
Legge, B. J.
Legge, W. R.
Legrow, Rev. A. G.
Legrow, E. L.
Leibel, Dr. Bernard
Leibel, William
Leitch, J. D.
Leith, M. A.
LeMay, R. T. M., C.A.
Lemon, Gordon L.
Lemon, H. G.
Lenker, J. L.
Lennie, E. D.
Lesslie, John B.
Levenston, Lt.-Col. G. F.
Levett, M. A. C.
Levy, Mark A.
Levy, Mort. L.
Lewis, Dr. A. C.
Lewis, John M.
Lewis, L. L.
Lewthwaite, R. G.
Lichty, L. K.
Lillie, R. J.
Lillyman, Reginald
Lindsay, G. C.
Lindsley, T.
Linney, H. J.
Linton, Hall
Liscombe, Wm. L.
Lister, M. Parker
Lithgow, J. H.
Little, F. M.
Little, Reginald H.
Little, William
Livingston, J. A.
Livingston, John B.
Livingston, Wm. R.
Lizotte, Charles J.
Lloyd, Trevor
Lloyd, T. E.
Lock, Rowland H.
Lockton, O. W.
Lockyer, E. R.
Loewen, Lee
Lofquist, J. C.
Loftus, R.
London, Norman H.
Long, A. J. M.
Long, Norman W.
Loughty, W. B.
Loureiro, V. H.
Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton
Lowry, Frederick J.
Lucas, F. O.
Lucas, Gordon T.
Lucas, Roy O.
Luggar, H. W.
Luke, James
Lumbers, G. C.
Lundberg, Hans
Lundy, Stanley
Lunney, Earle B.
Lush, H. V.
Luxenberg, Benjamin, Q.C.
Lynch, Major Charles G.
Lyndon, Patrick
Lyons, E. C.
Lyons, G. Jarvis

Lyons, John W.
Lyons, Lt.-Col. S. E.

Mabley, C. B.
MacAdam, Wm.
MacBride-Sourdis, Jorge
MacColl, H. G.
MacDiarmid, Kenneth Hugh
Macdiarmid, W. J. G.
MacDonald, Arthur A.
MacDonald, H. T.
MacDonald, Rev. A. J.
Macdonald, Charlton E.
MacDonald, J. B.
MacDonald, J. K.
MacDonald, Murdoch K.
MacDonald, N. B.
Macdonell, Rex B. G.
MacEachern, Gordon A.
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MacFarlane, Donald A.
MacFarlane, Dr. J. A.
MacFarlane, W. S.
Macintosh, J.M., Q.C.
MacKay, Justice F. G.
Mackay, Hon. Mr. Justice J. Keiller
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MacKenzie, D. Rae
MacKenzie, R. D.
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Mackie, Ernest B.
Mackie, R. A.
MacKinnon, Angus P.
MacKinnon, Peter B. L.
Maclachlan, Wills
MacLaren, Ian
MacLean, C. W.
MacLean, D. A.
MacMillan, J. H. Ian
MacMillan, Dr. R. J.
MacMillan, William
MacNeill, Alan
Macphee, Norman
MacPherson, Donald S.
MacRae, John
Maddux, Percy
Maedel, Clare W.
Magi, M. I.
Magwood, W. Marsh, Q.C.
Mainguy, Vice-Admiral E. R., O.B.E., C.D.
Male, W. Harold
Mancantelli, Robert J.
Mann, Major-Gen. C. Churchill
Manning, G. L.
Manning, J. R.
Manton, Frank
Marchant, C. R.
Marchment, W. R.
Marcus, J. K.
Mark, Bernard B.
Mark, Howard S.
Markton, K. L.
Marley, Major E. H. M.B.E., T.D.
Marsden, G. R. C.
Marsh, Gordon F.
Marshall, C. C.
Marshall, Ernest A.
Marshall, E. H.
Marshall, George A.
Marshall, G. Murray
Marshall, Hilary
Marshall, Col. K. R.
Marston, A. H.
Martens, E. T.
Martin, George L.
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Martin J. C.
Martin, Walter M., Q.C.
Martyn, H. L.
Mason, V. A.
Mason, V. K.
Mason, Wm. R.
Massie, Major J. H. C.
Massie, R. H. L.
Mathers, Wm. T.
Matthews, A. Bruce
Matthews, Brig. F. Beverley, C.B.E., Q.C.
Matthews, James G.
Maudsley, J. H.
Maxwell, Frank D.
Maxwell, Martin
May, George E. I.
Maybee, W. E.

Maynard, J. C.
Mayzel, Harry
Mazzoleni, Dr. E.
McAdam, Walter George
McAfee, Raymond E., C.A.
McAlpine, F.
McArthur, Melville H.
McAvoy, Louis Peter
McBain, Alex. L.
McBain, Alex Mc.D.
McBride, Ernest W.
McCabe, V. J.
McCaffrey, E. R.
McCarthy, D'Alton
McCarthy, John
McCarthy, Leigh M.
McCartney, W. S.
McCaul, L. F.
McCausland, Gordon A.
McCausland, J. K.
McClatchie, John, C.A.
McClellan, L. A.
McClure, G. Chester
McColl, Hugh
McConnell, J. E. Jr.
McCordic, Malcolm C.
McCordic, William J.
McCormack, T. G.
McCraw, D. F.
McCrimmon, B. V.
McCulley, Joseph
McCullough, J. L.
McCullough, N.
McCully, Joseph E.
McCutcheon, M. W.
McCutcheon, W. L.
McDonald, D. F.
McDormand, Rev. Dr. T. B.
McDougald, J. A.
McDougall, R. G. M.
McDowell, George
McEachern, John M.
McEwen, Gordon C.
McGaw, A. F.
McGeachy, J. B.
McGibbon, J. Ian
McGill, Cecil D. O.
McGillawee, Ross
McGillion, F. B.
McGillivray, Major George A.
McGillivray, T. A.
McGowan, L. J.
McGregor, I. R.
McGuigan, Dr. J. P.
McHardy, R. A.
McIlmoyle, Austen B.
McInnes, John
McIntosh, Donald A.
McIntyre, Gordon
McIver, Murdoch
McKay, W.
McKay-Clements, J. L.
McKee, John A.
McKee, John W.
McKee, William
McKellar, John
McKinnon, N. J.
McLachlan, W. R.
McLaren, D. H.
McLaren, J. B.
McLaughlin, Paul
McLean, Donald E.
McLeod, Dr. Alex. N.
McLeod, W. N.
McMaster, W. C.
McMechan, J.
McMillan, Edwin
McMillan, N. L.
McMillen, John B.
McMurtry, W. G. Warren
McNab, Lewis G.
McNair, T. Kennedy
McNamara, John P.
McNeil, W. G.
McNicol, J. A.
McPherson, R. S., F.C.A.
McRae, Dr. Colin A.
McRae, Douglas G. W.
McRae, Ian F.
McTague, Hon. C. P., Q.C., LL.D.
McTavish, C. E.
McVey, Roy A.
McWilliams, D. B.
Medhurst, C. E. H.
Medland, J. A.
Medland, John W.
Medland, Michael R.
Medland, T. J.
Meech, R. G., Q.C.
Meggeson, J. R.
Mellish, A. E.

Menzel, D. G. C.
Menzies, Harold
Meredith, Arthur
Meredith, J. W.
Merson, Bert
Mess, Brigadier James
Messer, Harry W.
Messinger, Lucien Eli
Metzler, Jas. B.
Mewhort, D. S.
Michell, C. A.
Michener, D. R., Q.C.
Mickler, A. L.
Middleton, John G., Q.C.
Middleton, V. A.
Might, P. G.
Miles, Ernest
Miller, Andrew
Miller, Eric L.
Miller, G. C.
Miller, I. Lee
Miller, J. A. F.
Miller, James C.
Miller, P. C.
Miller, T. D.
Mills, George Eaton
Mills, H. C.
Minden, Harold
Minkler, Dr. F. W.
Mirabelli, W/CDR. J. C.
Mist, Charles F.
Mitchell, A. N.
Mitchell, A. R.
Mitchell, B. L.
Mitchell, Dr. E. W.
Mitchell, J. C.
Mitchell, John F.
Mitchell, N. Albert
Mitchell, R. M.
Mitchell, William G.
Moffat, D. R.
Moffat, Norman D.
Moffatt, Dr. William
Moles, E. M.
Monier, Jean B.
Monkman, Harry H.
Monks, R. C.
Montague, Lt.-Col. W. H., O.B.E.
Montgomery, Albert H.
Montgomery, John E.
Montgomery, Dr. Robert C.
Montgomery, Scott
Moon, A. M.
Mooney, K. D.
Moor, C. Rudolph
Moore, Allan A.
Moore, Eric R.
Moore, Dr. Herbert
Morden, W. D. S.
Morgan, J.
Morgan, Major J. R. H.
Morgan, Marcel T.
Morison, D. W.
Morley, Frank
Morley, Dr. T. P.
Morris, Alex. C.
Morrison, D. Douglas
Morrison, D. M.
Morrison, D. W.
Morrison, Lt.-Col. L. S.
Morrison, Russell W.
Morrison, Wm. H.
Morrow, John A.
Morrow, Thomas A.
Mortimer, J. A.
Mortimer, J. C.
Morton, M. D.
Morton, Brig., R. E. A., D.S.O., C.D.
Mothersill, W. R.
Mott, James R.
Moxon, J. N.
Mudie, Hubert C. P.
Mugford, Sidney H.
Muir, Lt.-Col. Chas. A.
Muir, L. R.
Muir, P. M.
Muirhead, C. T.
Muirhead, James
Muirhead, W. T.
Mulholland, R. D.
Munn, Charles H.
Murphy, A. P.
Murphy, Thomas A.
Murphy, Thomas H.
Murray, Frank C.
Murray, Major Gladstone
Murray, J. Grant
Murray, Parkyn Ian
Murta, James R.
Mustard, Peter

Mutch, C. M.
Myers, Rev. A. J. W., B.D., PH.D.
Myers, B. H.
Myers, Rev. Dr. Chas. A.
Myers, Edwin J.
Mylrea, A. J.

Napier, Ernest J.
Nash, Gerald
Nash, .Norman R.
Naylor, L. F.
Neabel, Charles C.
Neary, Bernard F.
Neelands, Donald G.
Neelands, E. V.
Neelands, Lewis A.
Nelson, Barry W.
Nelson, E. F. K.
Nesbitt, Russell, Q.C.
Nesbitt, Wm. A.
Neuman, F. L.
Nevitt, I. H.
Newell, John O.
Newinger, K. H.
Newlands, T. J.
Newman, Harry A.
Newman, T. C.
Newport, W. R.
Nichol, Maurice W.
Nicholls, H. C.
Nicholls, S. G.
Nicholson, H. A.
Nicholson, K. E.
Nickle, Hon. W. M., Q.C., M.C., M.B.E., M.P.P.
Nicks, F. W.
Nicol, Frank J. K.
Nightingale, George F.
Ninnis, W. C.
Norman, Harold F.
Norman, J. S.
Norrington, H. W.
Norris, Samuel R.
Northey, J. A.
Northway, A. G.
Northway, John H.
Notzl, Paul
Nowack, Wm. B.
Noyes, W. S.
Nunn, Herbert G., C.A..
Oakey, F. D.
Oborne, J. Ross
O'Brian, R. B.
O'Connor, W. M.
Ogilvie, Dave
Oldham, Victor
Olver, A. S.
Omand, J. N.
Omejer, Major Odegard
O'Neill, H. T.
Onions, Robert
Orliffe, Herbert
Ormonde, George E. B.
Ormston, Melville
Osborne, Col. J. Ewart
Osborne, Victor A.
Osbourn, A. J.
Osler, Derek B.
Osler, G. S.
Oulster, W. J.
Ovens, Col. F. N.
Ovens, G., D.F.C., C.P.A.

Paddle, Leslie Harold
Page, Nelson L.
Page, William A.
Pallett, John C.
Palm, William H.
Palmer, Frank W.
Parish, Dr. James A.
Parke, G. M.
Parker, Hugh B.
Parker, John F.
Parkinson, R. M.
Parks, Capt. Arthur H.
Parnell, John A., O.B.E.
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Parsons, Norman
Parsons, Robert C.
Parsons, Robert S., Jr.
Partridge, W. T.
Paterson, A. S.
Paterson, E., C.A.
Paterson, James G.
Paterson, J. McPherson
Paterson, R. D.
Paterson, T. A.
Patrick, Major H. E.
Patterson, R. Ross
Paton, S. T.
Patten, Edward
Patterson, David S. L.

Patterson, Major W. E.
Pattison, Dr. C. L.
Paul, George
Paulson, M. T.
Peacock, H. Charles
Pearce, N. C.
Pearce, Richard C.
Pearce, R. John
Pearsall, C. F.
Peckover, George H.
Peever, K. Davis
Pelton, G. M.
Pelton, R. R.
Pemberton, Frank E.
Penaligon, J. H. C.
Penfound, J. E.
Pennington, Roy O.
Penny, John A. S.
Pepper, P. B. C.
Percy, J. L.
Perkin, I. B.
Perrin, H. D.
Perry, A. E.
Perry, Gordon F.
Perry, N. R.
Petrie, Albert R.
Petrie, John S.
Pettit, Holland Jr.
Phair, Dr. J. T.
Phelan, R. G.
Philip, William
Phillips, Edwin C.
Phillips, Gordon T.
Phillips, J. C.
Phillips, James F.
Phillips, Leslie
Phillips, Nathan, Q.C.
Phimister, Z. S.
Phipps, G. E.
Phipps, G. W.
Pickering, E. A.
Pickup, J. D.
Pidoux, Capt. C.
Pierce, Dr. Lorne
Pike, Harry A.
Pilis, C. F.
Pilling, Herbert
Pineo, Lloyd G.
Pitt, Arnold
Pittis, Paul R.
Plantner, J. F.
Playfair, S. B.
Plowman, Hugh V.
Plummer, Douglas
Polderman, J.
Pollock, Harry J.
Pomeroy, R. H.
Poole, C. H.
Porter, Hon. D. H.
Porter, Donald S.
Porter, Dr. George D.
Porter, W. G.
Potter, Raymond E. S.
Potts, John A.
Poulson, Andrew
Pounsett, F. H. R.
Powley, B.
Powley, H. L.
Powley, J.
Poyntz, A. R.
Pratt, Prof. E. J.
Pratt, J. P., Q.C.
Prentice, Magistrate John L., Q.C.
Prentice, Victor F.
Prentis, E. D.
Prest, Stanley V.
Price, Roland A.
Price, Lieut.-Col. W. H.
Priddle, Roger
Prince, H. R.
Pringle, R. J. C.
Prior, Rev. Wm.
Pritchard, H. S.
Proctor, J. E.
Proctor, John S.
Proverbs, C. I.
Prowse, G. L.
Prowse, Russell A.
Pryde, S. C.
Puddy, E. A.
Pullan, Harry
Purcell, Gillis
Purdy, Dr. Vernon W.

Rabnett, Basil
Radcliffe, N. D.
Rae, Robert
Raitblat, David
Ralph, George W.
Ralph, R. Ford
Ramey, P. Alex.

Ramsay, Victor R.
Rankin, Donald G.
Rankin, Donald O., B.A.
Rankin, Lt.-Col. G. A., D.S.O., E.D.
Ransom, A. C.
Rapmund, J. L.
Rawson, Clark M.
Rawsthorn, Albert P.
Ray, Louis W.
Rea, Charles E.
Rechnitzer, E. V.
Rector, Luther G.
Reddrop, F. O.
Redford, Wm. J.
Redrupp, R. J.
Reeb, H. E.
Reeder, Harry
Rees, S. L.
Regan, Major N. H., M.B.E., C.D.
Reid, Dr. H. W.
Reid, J. C.
Reid, Morgan
Reid, Peter
Rendall, S. D.
Rennie, G. H.
Rest, Wm. B.
Reynolds, W. B. G.
Rhind, J. A.
Rich, Wm.
Richards, Roland W.
Richardson, B. T.
Richardson, H. Banning
Richardson, R. J.
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